

The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 17, Number 1

January / February 1998



Irving's New Nuremberg Study

Daniel Michaels

The Vexing 'Jewish Question'

Goldwin Smith

Otto Ernst Remer Dies in Exile

**Free Speech Victory in Canadian
Holocaust Heresy Battle**

Transforming the Constitution

Joseph Sobran

— And More —

A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

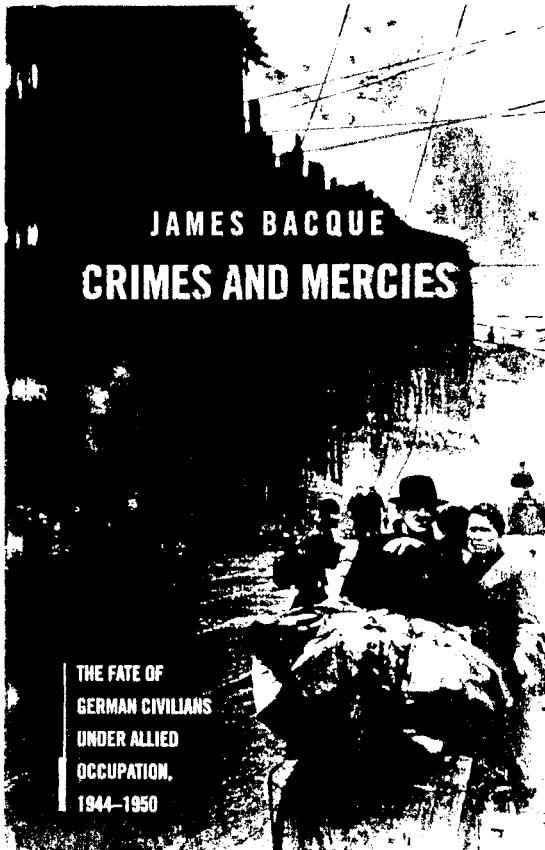
In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

Crimes and Mercies — a handsome hardcover work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.

Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.



Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees*, provides a valuable foreword.

Crimes and Mercies:
The Fate of German Civilians Under
Allied Occupation, 1944-1950
by James Bacque

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On the Cover: Former *Reichsmarschall* Hermann Göring on the witness stand at Nuremberg.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

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Canadian Jewish Congress Censorship Bid Thwarted

Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle

In a surprise ruling, the British Columbia (Canada) Human Rights Tribunal rejected a complaint by a major Jewish organization against veteran journalist Doug Collins and his publisher, the *North Shore News*, for an allegedly anti-Jewish column on the "Schindler's List" motion picture. The Tribunal found that the opinion piece, which took aim at Holocaust claims, did not violate a provincial "anti-hate" law.

The closely-watched free speech case began in July 1994, when the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) brought a formal complaint against Collins and the North Vancouver newspaper, charging them with violating British Columbia's amended Human Rights Act.

Specifically the CJC cited a March 1994 column, "Hollywood Propaganda" (reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*), in which Collins referred to the much-hyped movie as "Swindler's List" and "hate literature in the form of films." He also wrote that "the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood," and dismissed the fabled "six million" Holocaust figure as "nonsense." Remarked Collins: "You gotta love their movie and the people who made it, you see. Otherwise it's off to the dungeons." (For more on the background of this case, see "Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*.)

CJC official Bernie Farber castigated the Collins column as "Holocaust denial" and "anti-Semitic hate speech." Such writing, he declared, "should never be tolerated in a free and democratic society."

The broadly-worded provincial Human Rights Act, as amended in 1993, forbids any publication "that indicates discrimination against a person or a group or class of persons ... or is likely to expose a person or a group to hatred or contempt." As Collins has noted, this law "covers the waterfront, the key words being 'indicate' and 'is likely'."

In her 113-page judgment, released November 12, Council hearing chairman Nitya Iyer strongly criticized Collins' "Schindler's List" column. "It is deliberately provocative and insulting," she wrote. "It is mean-spirited and expresses a smug self-satis-

faction in the author's apparent success in freeing himself from the grip of the 'propaganda' by which the rest of society are still duped."

Notwithstanding that, Iyer concluded that the column fell short of violating the provincial Human Rights code: "Although the publication in issue is likely to make it more acceptable for others to express hatred or contempt against Jewish people because of their race, religion or ancestry, I find that it does not itself express hatred or contempt."

A Major Victory

Iyer's ruling is a important victory for freedom of speech in Canada, and a signal setback for the Zionist-Jewish lobby in its ongoing campaign to silence any voice regarded as harmful to Jewish interests. It is significant that this first-ever attempt in Canadian history to censor a writer by taking him to court for expressing his views was initiated by the country's leading Jewish-Zionist organization. The Canadian Jewish Congress "and its allied organizations," Collins charges, are "our biggest threat to free speech ... The CJC complaint is a direct attack on freedom of the press."

Because the Tribunal found, in effect, that questioning Holocaust claims is not necessarily "hate speech," the ruling has significance beyond Canada's borders. It affirms that Canadians — unlike citizens of Germany, France, Austria, Israel and some other countries where "Holocaust denial" is a crime — are legally free to express public skepticism of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Canadian newspaper publishers overwhelming agreed that the CJC complaint, and the law under which it was brought, threaten a basic right of Canadian citizens. The British Columbia Press Council condemned the CJC censorship bid, calling it "the most serious threat to press freedom in Canada" in 60 years.

So far the *North Shore News* has been forced to spend some \$203,000 to defend itself in the case. Defenders of free speech and ardent Collins fans have donated more than \$120,000 to a special *News* legal defense fund.

Along with many others, Collins had not

expected the gratifying verdict. "I was surprised," he said. "I thought it would go the other way." Collins went on to speculate that "the adjudicator [Iyer] came to the conclusion this [case] would reach the Supreme Court of Canada and when it did, the law would be thrown out. This way we may not pursue it."

Because the law under which the CJC complaint was made is still in place, the battle continues. As *News* lawyer David Sutherland commented: "We've won the day, but winning the day is not the answer. Government is the wrong agency or people to regulate the press ... that is so fundamental. It's important to Canada."

A Postponed Retirement

In his column of September 3, several weeks before the Tribunal's ruling, Collins announced his long-delayed retirement from the *News*. Now 77 years old, he stressed that the free speech battle had not forced him to retire. Rather, he had postponed retirement from 1995 because, as he wrote at the time, "to leave now would be desertion in the face of the enemy." More recently he commented: "It would not have been proper to leave before the hearing, so I hung on once more. I would not run out on the bravest publisher in the country." Now working on two new books, he says: "I may be retiring, but am not quitting."

Few North American writers have come under more sustained attack for outspoken and often unorthodox views than the British-born Collins. At the same time, many warmly admire him as an eloquent voice for Canada's "silent majority." Since 1984, his twice-weekly column was a very popular feature of the *North Shore News*. In more than 1,400 essays written in vigorous, straight-forward prose, Collins laid out well-informed but common-sense views on the country's most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege "rights."

A leading Canadian literary magazine, *Saturday Night* dealt at length with the Collins/CJC case in a recent (November) issue. In the ten-page article, Paula Brook (who is Jewish) expressed alarm over the columnist's support for Holocaust revisionism. She disapprovingly noted: "Like Irving, Faurisson, Rassinier and Butz, Collins has had his work published by the California-based Institute for Historical Review, whose bi-monthly journal is banned in Canada ... In fact, his *News* column has been reprinted verbatim in that journal ..."

Collins' Record

In view of his record, especially during World War II, the effort by some prominent Jews to portray Collins as a kind of "neo-Nazi" is an absurd and



Collins addresses the 1990 IHR Conference.

vicious smear. After joining the British army as a volunteer at the age of 19, he served as an infantry sergeant in 1940 in France, where he was captured. He was later awarded the Military Medal "for bravery in the field" fighting Germans at Dunkirk.

Escaping from a German prisoner of war camp in Silesia, he stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. He was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain. After re-joining the military, he served in the final months' military campaign in northwest Europe. Following demobilization in 1946, he joined the British Control Commission in occupied Germany. He moved to Canada in 1952.

Collins' journalistic record is equally impressive. Recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, his career has included work as a reporter and commentator for several major Canadian daily papers and on television and radio. He is also the author of several books. His presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. (It is also available on audio and video tape from the IHR. See also "Doug Collins Under New Fire," in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 43-46).

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Retirement, 'Nuremberg' and Auschwitz 'Rambo'

DOUG COLLINS

Retiring, Not Quitting

Put out more flags. Collins is retiring. My last regular column will appear in two weeks' time. It will be said that I am throwing in the towel, that the heat has been too much for me. Not so. Heat keeps me ticking.

For the benefit of liars in the media, here are the facts. I "retired" from the *North Shore News* in 1989. Even got a gold watch, courtesy of supporters. But on being asked to return to the paper I did so. I owed it.

When I wrote my \$200,000 column on "Hollywood Propaganda" in [March] 1994, however, I had no idea that such a harmless piece would make history. In that same year the censors and bigots of the Canadian Jewish Congress laid their complaint before the Human Rights Gestapo. Jewish groups brook no questioning of their orthodoxies.

I thought the whole thing over within a year. So I planned to leave by the end of 1995. As I wrote on December 31 of that year: "This column was to have been my swan song. I had planned to quit today and start writing *The Diary of a Redneck*. But the Bill 33 thing still bubbles. To leave now would be desertion in the face of the enemy."

Ever optimistic, I then thought that the Inquisition would be done with me in 1996. But the inquisitors love to keep people on the rack as long as possible, in the hope that they will plead for mercy. The process forces victims to spend fortunes on legal fees if they want a decent defence, and is a warning to others not to be too bold.

By October of 1996 it looked as though The Great Heresy Trial would not take place until I was 105. Would I live that long? So told the paper I would be leaving in March, 1997, come what may. But lo, the

Doug Collins, an award-winning journalist, has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, and is the author of several books. He served with the British army during the Second World War, and then with the British control commission in postwar occupied Germany.

The three essays published here are reprinted from his columns in the *North Shore News* of September 3, 1997, August 10, 1997, and April 20, 1997.

beast in Victoria suddenly stirred. Galileo Collins would face his accusers in June, three years after committing his "offence." It would not have been proper to leave before the hearing so I hung on once more. I would not run out on the bravest publisher in the country.

My friends all knew I was planning to retire. Southam correspondent Ian Haysore also knew about it when he did a write-up on the case in May. I asked him not to reveal the secret and he didn't. Charles Maclean knew, too, but said nothing. Why the secrecy? Because if my intention had been known while the "trial" was pending it would have looked as if I were running away. I have stayed the course, no matter what you may read in the gutter press to the contrary.

Another thing: next week I will be 77. So the sneering little twit who wrote in *Vancouver Magazine*, falsely, that I went into the rights hearing with a smug smile on my 76-year-old face will have to add a year if he does another piece. My departure may disappoint some people. I gave them something to distort.

There will probably be another up-bubbling when Glen Clark's NDP court brings down its decision. I have little doubt what that will be, but am always willing to be surprised. I am leaving now, regardless, because the "wrongs" die is cast and I will now have to wait see what the *real* courts do.

In the court of public opinion, meanwhile, it is my accusers who are seen as guilty. But that doesn't include the many freaks and mentally handicapped who write for *The Vancouver Sun* and *Province*. The man — and woman — in the street have certainly acquitted me. The mountains of letters show that. And it enrages my critics that the Defence Fund has reached \$121,919. Nothing like it has been seen before.

Meanwhile, I still have two weeks in which to annoy the nice people who would like to see me hang by my heels from a hook, as would the *Sun's* Paula Brook, who is loyal to her tribe. I now intend to put out a book of columns, plus a book entitled *Rights and Wrongs*. Even if I have to publish them myself. I may be retiring, but am not quitting.

Nuremberg: King of Kangaroo Courts

There's been a lot of talk about kangaroo courts lately, but the biggest kangaroo court of all took place over 50 years ago in Nuremberg. That most of the accused Nazis were criminals there was no doubt. And in his new book, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, David Irving does not attempt to mitigate Nazi excesses.

But there is equally no doubt that it was a travesty for the victor to try the vanquished. It was like having the family of a murder victim acting as the jury. Irving doesn't use that analogy but that was what it amounted to.

When emotions rule heads, it takes time for the obvious to emerge. I was working in Germany when the trials were on, and it did not occur to me that justice could not be served that way. They had started the war, hadn't they?

But views change. Lord Shawcross recently admitted that mistakes were made. He was the British prosecutor, and has been quoted as saying it was wrong to charge Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel with a crime that had not been invented until then, namely, conspiracy to wage aggressive war. "Looking back," he said, "It was victors' justice."

Irving shows us the background to the trials, including what the prosecutors and judges were telling one another. In effect they were a team. His work will not please anyone who thinks our side had been without blemish. Francis Biddle, the American judge at the trial, stated privately that "the Germans had fought a much cleaner war at sea than we did."

He also said that Admiral Karl Dönitz was being tried "not for starting a war but for losing one."

The defense was not allowed to use evidence of Allied transgressions. Thus the Russians, especially, were protected. Yet they had murdered 15,000 Polish officers at Katyn. They claimed, of course, that it was the Germans who had committed the crime, and German officers in Russian hands were hanged for it. The other trial judges knew very well who was guilty, but said nothing publicly.

Millions of Germans had been cleared out of their ancient lands in East Prussia and Silesia, too — a massive example of "ethnic cleansing" similar to what we are now holding Serbs responsible for. And when Dachau concentration camp was liberated in 1945, soldiers of the American 157th Infantry Regiment shot 520 of the camp guards and allowed inmates to kill many others. No mention could be made of that. But mention could be made of the 53 RAF officers shot by the Gestapo after getting out of *Stalag Luft III*.

The book also gives the origin of the six million story, meaning the number of Jews allegedly killed in the concentration camps and elsewhere. It was first mentioned in June 1945 by the spokesman for a group of "powerful Jewish organizations" in New York, who at that time could have had little idea of the truth of such a claim. It was, states Irving, "somewhere between a hopeful estimate and an educated guess."

The American chief prosecutor, Justice Robert H. Jackson, said he had "no authenticated data" on such a figure.

Later, he did mention 5.7 million, but that was also a guess. Many figures trotted out during the trial have since been proven wildly wrong.

Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, admittedly a nasty piece of work, was deprived of sleep for days, and whipped and clubbed into saying he had supervised the killing of 2.5 million people. The Jewish Field Security Sergeant (British) who arrested him was described how it took three days of torture to get Höss' first "confession." Before he was hanged, Höss said he would have made it five million if they had asked him.

Nuremberg is an important book. Even in England, however, I had to order it, and in Canada Irving's works are hard to obtain. You get one guess as to the reason. But ask your library to stock this one.

Australian Rambo Unmasked at Last

Everyone is entitled to do a bit of gloating. And it's gloat-time for Doug.

Last year I did a column on Donald Watt, an alleged Australian hero who claimed to have been a member of the *Sonderkommando* at Auschwitz, meaning he was a member of the special squad that stoked the crematoria there. *Stoker* was the title of his book, which was favorably reviewed in Australia and by *Spectator* magazine in London, whose reviewer thought it was the book of the year.

But I thought the story was highly unlikely. Not only about Auschwitz but also about Watt's escape stories and derring do. Given his claims, I wrote, it was a wonder he didn't win the war all by himself. "Rambo lives," I wrote.

My reasons for doubting Rambo's exploits were many. He had kept quiet about them for 40 years, not even telling his family, and his memory was jolted only when the Aussie government offered \$10,000 to any of its armed forces who had landed up in concentration camps.

I know a bit about wartime Germany and escaping, and his story made little sense. None of his

alleged adventures was documented, for instance. Names, dates and places were notably absent. And although he spoke not a word of German he claimed to have traveled nearly 1,000 miles on one trip using a German identity. Mostly by train. In wartime Germany? Forget it. He also put himself up as an intrepid fellow whom the Gestapo thought worth torturing even though he was a nobody.

Fast forward to 1997 and the March 29 [1997] issue of *The Weekend Australian*, in which there was a whole page on Watt under the headline "Shadow of Doubt." And what do we read? That the Auschwitz part of his story has been disputed by leading Holocaust researchers in Israel, Germany, Poland and Australia. Gideon Greif of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial Center in Jerusalem, stated that after reading Watt's account of Auschwitz he "could ascertain that the author was at no time a member of the *Sonderkommando*. Doubtful also is that under any circumstances he was a prisoner there."

Werner Renz, the librarian of the documentation department at the Fritz Bauer Institute in Frankfurt (another research group) agreed, stating that the many errors in the book show that Watt could not have been what he said he was.

Over to Franciszek Piper, director of research at the Auschwitz Museum: "There is not any source that would confirm that among the prisoners at Auschwitz there was a British citizen from Australia, particularly, that such a prisoner was a member of the *Sonderkommando*." "In the text of Watt's book," stated Piper further, "I noticed a string of information borrowed from literature, which is presented as experiences of the author." (Which I take to mean that it was filched from other books.) "On critical inspection," he concluded, "immediate doubts arise as to whether [the] author was really a witness of the events described."

It gets better. In my column I laughed in print about Watt's claim that he had also spent some time in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and seen its gas chambers. I knew at first hand that they did not exist. But Rambo claimed he saw Jews being taken to the gas chambers there and buried in mass graves dug by Russian POWs.

"The problem with his account," reported the newspaper, quoting Fritz Bauer and other institutions, "is that there were no gas chambers at Belsen." Asked about that, Watt at first denied he had ever written that there were any. Then he discovered he had done so. Sorry, he said in effect. "When I wrote the book after 50 years it was done from memory." He claimed he had got the one camp mixed up with the other. Which is not quite on.

The authorities who accepted Watt's story and paid him the \$10,000 are sticking by their decision. But they would, wouldn't they. Watt is now refusing

all interviews. But a film is being considered. Or was.

Why am I gloating? Because I was right and bigger leagues were wrong. And because after my Rambo column appeared, the usual Collins critics on the [Vancouver] North Shore leapt into the act to make fools of themselves.

Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews.

An independent service that impartially reviews and rates web sites has given the site a positive rating. In the summer of 1996, Gale Research posted on the "Cyberhound" web site a rating for Raven's site of three stars (out of a possible four). It also praised the site for its "strong content that has been endorsed by other publications."

Interest in Raven's web site has been strong. Between August 1 and November 13, 1997, an average of 700 persons in countries around the world visited Raven's site every day — with a total of 73,422 visits or "hits" during this period. In recent weeks the site has been receiving as many as 3,000 visits per day. During this 105-day period, visitors to the site retrieved or transferred more than a million kilobytes of information altogether. On recent peak days, visitors have been retrieving some 30 megabytes of revisionist information daily, or the equivalent of some 21 thousand pages of double-spaced typewritten text.

Raven's site includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, enabling callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New items are added as time permits.

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Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The web site address for IHR material is
<http://www.kaiwan.com/-ihrgreg>

E-mail messages can be sent to the IHR in care of ihrgreg@kaiwan.com

War Hero Fled to Spain to Avoid 'Thought Crime' Imprisonment

Remer Dies in Exile

Otto Ernst Remer — a wartime German army officer who played a key role in putting down the July 1944 plot against Hitler, and an important postwar revisionist publicist — died on October 4, 1997, at the age of 85. Since 1994 he had been living in exile in the Spanish resort of Marbella. In poor health for some months, he died of natural causes.

He is survived by his wife, Anneliese. At the time of his death, it was announced that his remains would be cremated, with the ashes to be buried later in Germany.

Born on August 18, 1912, Remer volunteered for service in the German army in 1930. During the Second World War, he served as a front-line officer in France, the Balkans and on the eastern front.

After promotion to Major and then Colonel, in 1944 he was chosen to command the "Grossdeutschland" guard regiment in Berlin. In this post, the 31-year-old officer played a historically pivotal role in putting down the attempt by a small circle of insurgent officers to kill Hitler and seize control of the government.

On the afternoon of July 20, 1944, General Paul von Hase, the military commander in Berlin and a leader in the anti-Hitler conspiracy, announced to Remer that Hitler was dead, that civil disorder had broken out, and that the army was assuming overall authority in Germany. Hase ordered Remer immediately to seal off key government buildings in central Berlin.

Hesitating to carry out this highly unusual order, Remer decided to contact Joseph Goebbels to confirm its validity. After telling the skeptical and uncertain Remer that Hitler was not dead, the propaganda minister and Berlin *Gauleiter* arranged for him to speak directly with the Führer by telephone at his military headquarters in East Prussia. (Although the bomb planted by conspiracy leader Colonel Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg during a conference had killed four officers, Hitler escaped with only minor injuries.)

"Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice?", Hitler began. After explaining that an attempt on his life had failed, he gave Remer complete authority in Berlin to suppress the conspiracy. Remer and his men moved quickly to put down the revolt, which had been poorly planned and organized.

Five months later, Remer commanded the elite "Panzer Führer-Begleitbrigade" during the ill-fated "Battle of the Bulge" offensive. Following his promo-



Otto Ernst Remer in a 1944 portrait.

tion by Hitler on January 30, 1945, to the rank of Major General he was given command of tens of thousands of soldiers of the legendary "Panzer Führer-Begleitdivision." During the war's final months, he and his men fought off vastly superior Soviet forces, thereby rescuing hundreds of thousands of refugees who were fleeing the advancing Red troops.

Remer showed exemplary courage and valor in combat, and was wounded numerous times in battle. He was awarded some of the nation's most distinguished military decorations, including the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross, the German Cross in Gold, the Oak Leaves of the Iron Cross, the Golden Wounded Badge, and the Silver Close Combat badge.

At the end of the war he came into American captivity, and remained a prisoner of war until 1947. During this period, the American commander of a camp for German prisoners, First Infantry Division officer Stanley Samuelson, said of him: "Of the 87



Remer speaks at the Eighth IHR Conference, October 1987.

German generals in this camp, General Remer is the only one whom I respect as courageous and honorable."

Remer played a leading role in the formation of the postwar "Socialist Reich Party," which, after winning 16 seats in a state parliament, was banned in 1952. Remer then lived in exile for several years in Egypt and Syria. He also wrote two books, including "Conspiracy and Treason Around Hitler" (*verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*), a memoir and study reviewed by H. Keith Thompson in the Spring 1988 *Journal*.

As a featured speaker at the Eighth (1987) Institute for Historical Review Conference, Remer spoke on "My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944." (His address was published in the Spring 1988 *Journal*, and is available on both audio- and video-tape from the IHR.)

In October 1992 a German court in Schweinfurt sentenced him to 22 months imprisonment for "popular incitement" and "incitement to racial hatred" because of allegedly anti-Jewish "Holocaust denial" articles that had appeared in five issues of his tabloid newsletter, *Remer Depesche*. The judges in the case flatly refused to consider any of the extensive evidence presented by Remer's attorneys. (See the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-30, and the May-June 1994 *Journal*, pp. 42-43.)

To avoid imprisonment, in February 1994 Remer sought exile in Spain. (See the July-August 1995 *Journal*, pp. 33-34.) German authorities sought his extradition, but Spain's highest court rejected these requests on the basis that Remer's "thought crime"

was not illegal in Spain. Nevertheless, until the final weeks of his life, German authorities persisted in their efforts to extradite the dying octogenarian so that he could be imprisoned in Germany.

Many of the numerous newspaper reports that have appeared about Remer over the years have contained demonstrable falsehoods. For example, he has repeatedly, and inaccurately, been referred to as a former "SS man" or "SS officer." In fact, he was never even a National Socialist party member.

Newspapers also reported that Remer "denied the murder of Jews" or "declared that no Jews were murdered under the National Socialist regime." Actually, Remer pointed out, "I have never denied that Jews were killed during the Third Reich, but have only disputed the figures of Jews who died in Auschwitz and the alleged method of killing" (that is, in gas chambers).

In challenging the gassing claims, Remer cited the various forensic studies of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, particularly the investigations carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf and American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter.

The Remer case points up the strange and even perverse standards that prevail in Germany today. Although his "crime" was a non-violent expression of opinion, to dispute claims of mass gassings in wartime concentration camps is regarded in today's Germany as a criminal attack against all Jews, who enjoy a privileged status there.

More than half a century after the end of the Third Reich and the Second World War, Germans are ceaselessly exhorted to "never forget" the anti-Jewish measures of the Hitler era, to atone for what is called the most terrible crime in history, and to regard themselves as a nation of criminals and moral misfits. As a further expression of the country's "national masochism," the July 1944 conspirators are officially venerated, while outstanding wartime combat heroes and selfless patriots such as Remer are dishonored.

Particularly in Germany, the struggle on behalf of historical truth is not merely an academic question — it is an issue of national survival.

If Germany were ever to find itself in another major war, it would be suicidal stupidity to cite as role models for its soldiers and officers the individuals who, at a time of national emergency, tried to assassinate the nation's leader and overthrow the government in a murderous putsch.

Every nation with a healthy survival instinct naturally venerates, particularly in time of war, individuals of exemplary self-sacrifice, patriotism, and heroism — men of the caliber of Otto Ernst Remer.

— M.W.

Remer Speaks

The uprising, or, better said, the revolt, of July 20, 1944, failed not because of my intervention, but rather because of the inner lack of goals and conceptualization by its heterogeneous participants, apparently a privileged but subdued nobility class, who were, of course, united in their rejection of Hitler, but who were completely disunited in all other issues. The putsch failed because it began with unclear ideas, was prepared with insufficient means, and was carried out with almost astonishing awkwardness. Moreover, it is also known that no political support was promised from outside of Germany, which meant that the only possible result would have been unconditional surrender.

No one needs to ask what would have happened if the July 20, 1944, undertaking had succeeded. The German eastern front, which at that time was involved in extremely serious defensive battles, would undoubtedly have collapsed as a result of the civil war that inevitably would have broken out, and the attendant interruption of supplies... A collapse of the eastern front, however, would not only have meant the deportation of further millions of German soldiers into the death camps of Russian captivity, but would also have prevented the evacuation of countless women and children who lived in the eastern territories of the Reich, or who had been evacuated to those areas as a result of the terror attacks from the air by the western Allies.

Precisely because of his experiences on the eastern front, every thinking soldier knew what would happen to us if we were to lose this war. German soldiers were quite deeply convinced of the necessity of this struggle in the interest of the survival of our continent. We had not attacked Russia out of pure zeal to conquer. Rather, we were forced to act because the Soviets had deployed superior forces of more than 256 divisions in order to invade Europe at an opportune hour.

During my lifetime I have gotten to know and understand more than 50 countries, particularly in the Arab world and black Africa. These countries live under diverse political systems. In contrast to us, these nations all love and respect their own homelands, and are proud of their own countries and traditions.

The system of "reeducation" after 1945 has turned the Germans into a neuroticized people. This spiritual-psychic condition of society in the [German] Federal Republic thereby renders it incapable of self-awareness or of taking decisive counter-measures against the leftist organized revaluation of the natural life order.



Major General Remer, right, commander of the "Panzer Führer-Begleitdivision," talks with Major General Maeder during the battle near Lauban (lower Silesia) in March 1945.

A democracy is not good and acceptable because it calls itself a democracy, but rather when it recognizes and respects the traditional and living values of its own national community. I also believe that in every western democratic country, including here in Germany, no one can be happy about a democracy that does not also have a positive regard for its own people, state and nation. Contrary to the prevailing dogma, I have gained the impression that human beings are not equal, if for no other reason than on the basis of their very different cultural views. Nevertheless, I have observed that everywhere in the world, nationalists and those who love their own countries are able to speak with each other in the same language and understand each other, which is not the case among democrats of each country.

When one observes the tumultuous defamation of the Third Reich and the continual and repulsive self-accusations, one has to ask himself: is Hitler still so strong and the German Federal Republic so weak that the ignorant citizens of Germany can be convinced of the value of this democracy only by repetitiously repeating the old confessions of self-guilt? I do not believe so. In the long run, the historical truth cannot be suppressed.

Dangerous Reputation

"One of the best ways to get yourself a reputation as a dangerous citizen these days is to go about repeating the very phrases which our founding fathers used in the great struggle for Independence."

— Charles A. Beard (1874 - 1948)

Revisionist Progress in Nippon

Japanese Court Declines to Validate Gas Chamber Claims

In a major victory in Japan for freedom of speech and research on the Holocaust issue, a Tokyo District Court has declined to give judicial validation to claims of mass extermination gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps.

The case began in April 1997 when Japanese revisionist author Aiji Kimura brought a lawsuit against three defendants for a series of articles in the weekly magazine *Shukan Kinyobi* that, he charges, portray him as a "falsifier of history."

In August one of the defendants in the case quoted Presiding Judge Toshimi Ouchi, who called him into the judge's chamber, as saying: "The court cannot decide whether gas chambers existed. The court can only judge whether there was [an act of] defamation." (*The Japan Times*, Aug. 11, 1997).

Another defendant in the case, a Japanese journalist, expressed outrage at the judge's remarks: "That a court can openly choose not to make a decision over the existence of gas chambers is an illustration of Japan's lack of a moral yardstick by which to judge right from wrong. I think it is only Japan, of all countries in the world, that such an idiotic thing can happen."

Judge Ouchi's decision shows that, in Japan at least, one may dispute claims of gas chamber killings at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps without fear of legal punishment. With regard to the Holocaust issue, Japan permits greater freedom of speech and expression than do countries such as Germany, France and Austria, where "Holocaust denial" is a crime.

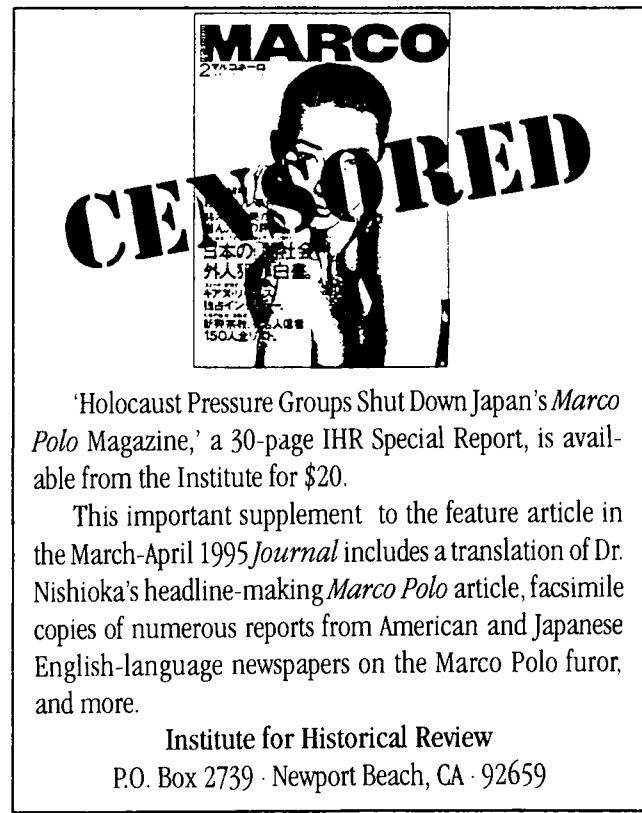
At the same time, though, formidable economic and social pressure can be applied to force compliance with the prescribed orthodoxy. In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, *Marco Polo*, was compelled to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The article, headlined "The Greatest Taboo of Postwar World History: There were no Nazi 'Gas Chambers,'" was written by Dr. Masanori Nishioka, a physician.

Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. The large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in, and news of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-9.)

A few months later, the first book-length Japa-

nese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in bookstores. Written by Aiji Kimura, "The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. (A detailed report on Kimura's book and the continuing Holocaust debate in Japan appears in the May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 34-36.)

In June 1997 a second well-referenced revisionist book on the Holocaust issue was published in Japan, this one by Dr. Nishioka. (A report on this work, "Auschwitz: Truth of Gas Chambers: What is the true tragedy," will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)



'Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine,' a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for \$20.

This important supplement to the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the Marco Polo furor, and more.

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— Thomas Jefferson, 1821

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Transforming the Constitution

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Our Savaged 'Living' Constitution

Most Americans are taught, and assume, that we still live under the Constitution of the United States. We are even told that the Constitution improves with age — that it's a "living document" whose full potential has only been realized in modern times thanks to the interpretations of the Supreme Court.

Thanks to the Court, we now know that the First Amendment protects obscenity, but forbids prayer in public schools. We know — again thanks to the Court — that we have a constitutional right to "privacy," which means that a woman may have her child aborted without consulting or informing the father. We know that the abortion laws of all 50 states, even the most permissive, had been in violation of the Constitution.

We know, in short, that many of our moral and religious traditions are "unconstitutional" — in the eyes of our ruling elite. It seems to make no difference that most of us had no inkling that we were acting unconstitutionally until the modern Court announced the fact to us.

On the other hand, the Court finds nothing unconstitutional about the countless new powers constantly claimed by the federal government, even when these clash directly with the Bill of Rights. The Court upholds federal gun control laws, even though the Second Amendment says plainly "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

So the Court can create "rights" that are nowhere mentioned or implied by the Constitution; and it may set aside rights that are explicitly listed in the Constitution.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer, author (most recently of *Alias Shakespeare*), and editor of the monthly newsletter *Sobran's* (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183). "Our Savaged 'Living' Constitution" is reprinted from the Jan.-Feb. 1994 issue of *Capitol Hill Voice* (P.O. Box One, Washington, DC 20044), a newsletter edited and published by Dale Crowley, Jr. "Base Motives" is reprinted from the March 9, 1995, issue of the traditionalist Roman Catholic weekly *The Wanderer* (201 Ohio St., St. Paul, MN 55107). "As We Were" is reprinted from the January 1996 issue of *Sobran's*.

It is all, of course, nonsense.

This is what the idea of a "living document" comes down to: The Court is not bound by the plain meaning of the words it interprets. It may assign unsuspected new meanings to those words, disregarding history, tradition, and the dictionary.

The Constitution was not "dead" before the modern Court went to work on it. It had been amended five times in the two decades before Franklin Roosevelt sought to change it by stealth during the New Deal. That was the fastest rate of amendment since the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

Far from being dead, the Constitution proved capable of being changed by the people themselves through the amending process the Constitution provides for in Article V. It didn't have to be subtly twisted by clever jurists bent on reading their pet notions into it.

There is no need to rehearse all the details of the great change that has occurred since Roosevelt filled the Court with his cronies. In fact, many learned constitutional scholars know the details without seeing the pattern those details form: They don't grasp that the Constitution has been stood on its head.

The clear purpose of the Constitution is to distribute power very carefully. Most powers of government are reserved to the states and the people; this is implicit throughout, but it is affirmed expressly by the Tenth Amendment, and is clear from all the ratification debates of 1789. A very few powers, carefully listed and defined, are *delegated* (key word!) to the federal government. These few powers, in turn, are divided among three branches of government, one of which (Congress) is further divided into two houses.

In granting new powers to the federal government, then, the framers of the Constitution were anxious to prevent power from being centralized, or (in their fearful word) "consolidated." The idea of trusting any single man, group, or branch of government with all power was the very opposite of what they had in mind.

It is worth noting that a close modern synonym of the word "consolidated" is "fascist." Centralization of power is the fascist — as well as the "socialist and communist" ideal. And elements of all three systems, which were sweeping Europe and Russia, helped inspire and form the New America of the

New Deal.

The champions of consolidated government knew that the old Constitution was the great obstacle to their designs. They wanted to preserve the outward forms of constitutional government while emptying those forms of content, because an openly revolutionary government could not command the allegiance of the American people. So they developed the strange idea of a "living" or "evolving" Constitution that somehow became the opposite of itself and actually *reversed* its meaning with the passage of time.

Today the plain and original meaning of the Constitution exists only on paper, and in the minds of a shrinking number of Americans who still understand the heritage they have been robbed of. We live in what might be called post-constitutional America, where the arbitrary and purposeful misinterpretation of the Constitution has turned ours into a government of men, not laws. The doctrine of the "living" document" really makes the Constitution a dead letter, a law without effect.

Does this sound gloomy? There is no need to despair. By recognizing the idea of a "living document" for the nonsense it is, we can restore the Constitution and reclaim the liberty our ancestors earned for us.

Base Motives

The Pentagon's plan to close 33 military bases and shrink 86 more has raised howls of anguish and congressional opposition — not because it would expose the nation to military attack, but because it would eliminate tens of thousands of jobs and hurt the economies of the host communities. Some are crying that the cuts would be "unfair."

Well, the purpose of national defense is not "fairness." It is defense. If a base, or for that matter a single rifle, is not needed, nobody should be taxed to pay for it. Behold how "defense" has become an entitlement program. We have also become accustomed to the phrase "defense industry." What it all means is that we are supporting a parasitic military economy that bears no relation to "the common defense of the United States" as intended by the Constitution.

The phrase "common defense" is as badly abused as the phrase "general welfare," which was never meant to authorize "welfare" in the current sense of the word. Nobody now seriously pretends that the things referred to under the headings of "defense" and "welfare" benefit the entire population. We have come to accept them as special interests, and we're not outraged when politicians fight for them as such.

No marvel we have those deficits. The problem

lies in our political ethos, the remedy for which is not another constitutional amendment — unless it's an amendment to strip the federal government of the powers to tax and to control the currency. One of the most pivotal years in American history was 1913, when the federal government acquired the constitutional authority to levy income taxes, while relieving itself of the duty of maintaining sound money by creating the Federal Reserve Bank. Yet even with the great prerogatives of confiscation and counterfeiting, it has been unable to stay in the black, because these tyrannical powers have given it the tyrant's fatal illusion that there are no limits. The illusion is all the more deadly because we haven't had a single dictator to whom responsibility may be referred: The dictatorial powers have been distributed among so many politicians that none has had to worry about taking the consequences or bearing the disgrace due to a wastrel regime.



Joseph Sobran

As We Were

As the two parties in Washington quibbled about how and when to balance the budget, an article by Harold Faber in the December 31 [1995] *New York Times* recalled that the federal government once paid off its debts and had an actual surplus of \$19 million — a lot of money in 1836. This surplus was matched the following year. What to do with it? Senator Henry Clay proposed giving the extra money back to the states.

"But," writes Faber, "there was a serious problem — the Constitution. Disposing of surplus money was not one of the powers enumerated for Congress in the Constitution, and, in those days when the Constitution was taken far more literally than it is now, that was a major obstacle."

Such was American life back in what might be called the constitutional era. Evidently the Commerce Clause hadn't been discovered yet, and Congress didn't realize it had unlimited power to follow its fancies. Again we find that our ancestors are strangers to us.

Faber sketches the situation: "In those simple days, before income and corporate taxes, the United States got its money from two major sources: customs duties and the sale of public lands. And there

were only five categories of expenses: the Army, the Navy, pensions, payments to Indians, and miscellaneous." Today, of course, such items as "payments to Indians" would be lost under "miscellaneous."

The *Times* presented this story as a minor historical curiosity. But compared with what the Paper of Record usually deems "all the news that's fit to print," it's a major revelation. It shows how deeply the ethos of limited government was ingrained in the people and the politicians in those days of innocence (not to be confused with naivete).

Try to imagine today's Congress deliberating so conscientiously. Try to imagine Alphonse D'Amato and Robert Byrd in the same room with Clay and Calhoun. In 1836 Congress had little taxing power and was too scrupulous to debase the currency, yet it still ran a \$19 million surplus. Today Congress can tax every falling sparrow and has elevated inflation to the status of tradition, but has nevertheless run up a debt of \$5 trillion.

The Constitution is to today's federal government what the Book of Revelation is to the Unitarian Church. Of course Unitarian ministers don't pretend they're being faithful to Scripture.

It's not just that the Constitution was read more "literally" in the old days, though it was. An even more basic difference was that the federal government hadn't yet assumed the *monopoly of interpretation* it now enjoys. Everyone still understood that the Constitution was "We the, People" speaking to the federal government, telling it both its powers and its limits. "We the People" carefully "enumerated" the powers which had been "granted" or "delegated" to the government we had created, specifying that all other powers were "reserved" to the states or to the people themselves. If Congress couldn't cite chapter and verse for any power it chose to exercise, that power was "usurped," and the line between legitimate authority and tyranny had been crossed.

For the federal government to be the sole or final interpreter of its own commission would have been absurd — and dangerous. It would mean that the government could add to its own powers by disingenuous construction. And that is exactly what happened. By the twentieth century it had become true that the Constitution meant whatever the Supreme Court said it meant. And with the New Deal it turned out to "mean" that Congress could grab any power it chose to claim under, say, the interstate commerce provision. The usurpation of power became routine.

What's more, the Court, after World War II, also began to strip the states of their reserved power under the application of the Bill of Rights via the totally specious "incorporation" doctrine of the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead of defending the peo-

ple's rights against the federal government, the Court was now accusing the *states* of violating them — whether by segregating the races, sponsoring school prayer, inflicting the death penalty, or banning abortion. Hundreds of legitimate state laws were struck down, while Congress passed hundreds of unconstitutional laws that went unchallenged by the Court.

All this in turn meant that instead of *obeying* the Constitution, the federal government was now pretending to *enforce* it; that instead of *preventing* federal usurpations of power, *the Constitution itself had become the instrument and pretext of federal usurpation*.

The point can be put another way. The Constitution has ceased being the voice of "We the People" and has become the oracle of the federal government, which solely controls its meaning and is prepared to impute to it any absurdity necessary to maintain and enlarge federal power. "We the People" now wait passively for our alleged servants to tell us what their power, and our rights are. It shouldn't surprise us that the servants keep discovering that their constitutional powers are greater today than they were yesterday. Sometimes they also "expand" our rights, but only in the course of stripping away the reserved powers of the states. (We acquired the "right" of abortion only because the Court stole the states' power to regulate it. *Roe v. Wade* increased the actual ratio of federal to state power.)

The American people have supinely allowed their Constitution to be stolen from them. Almost all of them now assume that it's virtually federal property, which only the Supreme Court can interpret with authority.

But any responsible reading of the Constitution is fatal to the standard liberal interpretation of it. That interpretation is simply incoherent, for all the support it enjoys from prostitute scholars and journalists. The Constitution not only doesn't but *can't* mean what they want it to mean. In *Federalist 41*, James Madison tried to reassure his readers that federal power would be limited. Why enumerate Congress's powers in detail, he asked, if Congress was supposed to exercise a single, monolithic, consolidated power? Still, just to make sure everyone got the point, the Tenth Amendment spelled it out: any power *not* delegated to the federal government belonged to the states and the people.

Nobody in 1789 could have foreseen that one day Congress would claim 95 percent of its powers under a single innocuous phrase of the Commerce Clause. Such an interpretation would have been too outlandish for the most ardent advocate of strong federal government.

But outlandish interpretation, contemptuous of

logic, history, plain meaning, and justice, has become the rule. And it's feasible only because the federal government gets to say what the Constitution means; because its highest court can be relied on to rule in its interests; and because the American people don't understand the whole confidence game that has taken their own Constitution out of their hands.

The situation will cease to be hopeless only when we begin to grasp how bad it really is. In the 1992 case of *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the Court reaffirmed *Roe v. Wade* on grounds that (according to three members of the majority) its own authority would suffer if it were to reverse that dubious ruling. In other words, the Court was treating itself as a party to the controversy and deciding in its own favor, in defiance of every principle of jurisprudence. In effect it was confessing that it couldn't afford to admit error, because its own interest was paramount; and so much the worse for truth.

In his 1798 Draft of the Kentucky Resolutions, Jefferson wrote, with his usual firm logic, that "the [federal] government created by this compact [i.e., the Constitution] was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to

itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers." To allow the federal government such discretion, he added, "would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority." "Its dominion," he said, "would be absolute and unlimited."

I am tempted to call Jefferson clairvoyant, but he wasn't. He was merely splendidly rational. He didn't need a crystal ball to predict where the tendency he saw must lead in the end. It would lead to us.

By simple deduction from the nature of the issue, Jefferson foresaw what most Americans can't see even in hindsight. We are so politically decadent that we have accepted as right and natural that our rulers should claim the prerogative of deciding arbitrarily what this "compact" means. It's up to them, and them alone, to say what "We the People" have authorized them to do. A sane system has been displaced by a crazy one that utterly defeats the purpose of the original. And we don't realize it was ever any different.



Jailed in 'Democratic' Germany: The Ordeal of an American Writer

New!

A courageous German-American civil rights activist tells the full, inside story of his arrest in Germany in August

1995, and five months' imprisonment, for remarks he made in letters and periodicals written in and sent from the United States. German authorities jailed the outspoken 68-year-old publicist because his references to the "Holocaust tale" and the "Jew-infested" German political system were judged to be insulting to Jews, and thus a violation of the country's selectively enforced "popular incitement" law. Although he is a naturalized American citizen, the US State Department refused to protest his arrest.

Written in an engagingly upbeat style, with an eye for the telling anecdote, Hans Schmidt recounts his legal struggle and the rigors of his imprisonment, and provides valuable insights and commentary on post-war Germany's subservience to powerful supranational forces. This protest against totalitarian injustice is a devastating indictment of Germany's blatant double standard on democratic rights, as well as an eloquent plea for free speech and truthful, revisionist awareness of history.

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The Vexing 'Jewish Question': A Nineteenth-Century Scholar's View

GOLDWIN SMITH

Although today it is considered tactless if not hateful to speak openly of a "Jewish question," the often thorny matter of relations between Jews and non-Jews in society is a real issue that has bedeviled countless governments and scholars for centuries. In the following essay, a prominent British scholar tackles this issue with a forthrightness, perceptiveness and courage that is all too rare among academics in our own day.

The author is Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), a prominent 19th-century educator, historian and author. He was educated at Oxford University, where he became regius professor of modern history in 1858. Moving to the United States in 1868, he joined the faculty of Cornell University as a professor of English literature and Constitutional History. He moved to Toronto in 1871, where he continued to write prolifically until his death.

A "classic liberal," Smith was ardently pro-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic. An enemy of slavery and an admirer of Abraham Lincoln, he championed the cause of the North during the American Civil War. His booklet, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* (1863) had considerable impact on public opinion in Britain. As a lifelong supporter of "Anglo-Saxon" unity, he worked for close ties between Britain, the United States and Canada.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1957 edition), Smith's "principal historical writings — The United Kingdom: a Political History (1899), and The United States: an Outline of Political History (1893) — make no claim to original research, but are remarkable examples of terse and brilliant narrative." The *Columbia Encyclopedia* (second edition) says that he "earned a position of great respect in the United States, Canada and Great Britain for his educational and social work." Among the available profiles of his life is a biography by Elisabeth Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957).

The following essay, originally entitled "The Jewish Question," is reprinted here from the second, revised edition of his book, *Essays on Questions of the Day*, published in 1894 by Macmillan (New York and London), and reprinted in 1972 by Books for Libraries Press (Freeport, New York).

In this bold sketch, Smith shows that the "Jew-

ish Question" has persisted since ancient times — over many centuries and in diverse cultures. His observations and presentation of facts point up parallel problems in our own era.

He establishes that horrific and much-publicized accounts of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Russian empire during the 1880s were grossly exaggerated, and debunks the widely accepted charge that these anti-Jewish outbursts were rooted in religious bigotry and intolerance.

The recurring friction between Jews and non-Jews through the ages, Smith persuasively argues, is due primarily not to the defects or iniquities of non-Jews, but rather is a lamentable but nevertheless quite understandable reaction to Jewish behavior. The most galling features of this behavior, he contends, are rooted in the distinctively tribalistic character of the Jewish religion as laid out in the Talmud and the Old Testament.

As a solution to this seemingly interminable problem, Smith proposes that Jews should "de-nationalize" themselves by renouncing Jewish tribalism and particularism. In other words, he urges comprehensive Jewish assimilation into society — a "solution" to the "Jewish question" that is also implicit in traditional American liberalism.

In the following reprint, information originally provided by Smith in footnotes has been incorporated into the text in parentheses. Subheads have been added between paragraphs, and some explanatory words have been added to the text in brackets. A few portions have been deleted, as shown by ellipses.

— M.W.

Jewish ascendancy and the anti-Semitic movement provoked by it form an important feature of the European situation, and are beginning to excite attention in America. Mr. Arnold White, Baron Hirsch's commissioner, says, in a plea for the Russian Jews ("The Truth about the Russian Jew," *Contemporary Review*, May 1892), that "almost without exception the press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced by Jewish brains;" that "international finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill;" that in England the fall of the Barings has left the house of Rothschild alone in

its supremacy; and that in every line the Jews are fast becoming our masters. Wind and tide, in a money-loving age, are in favor of the financial race.

At the same time the anti-Semitic movement gains ground. From Russia, Germany, Austria, and the Danubian Principalities, it spreads to the Ionian Islands; it has broken out in France; symptoms of it have appeared even in the United States. Yet there is a persistent misapprehension of the real nature of the agitation. It is assumed that the quarrel is religious. The anti-Semites are supposed to be a party of fanatics renewing the persecutions to which the Jews were exposed on account of their faith in the dark ages, and every one who, handling the question critically, fails to show undivided sympathy with the Israelites is set down as a religious persecutor. The Jews naturally foster this impression, and, as Mr. Arnold White tells us, the press of Europe is in their hands.

Pogroms in Russia

In 1880, anti-Semitic disturbances broke out in Russia. A narrative of them entitled "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia," was put forth (in 1881) by the Jewish community in England as an appeal to the British heart. In that narrative the Russian Christians were charged with having committed the most fiendish atrocities on the most enormous scale. A tract of country equal in area to the British Islands and France combined had, it was averred, been the scene of horrors theretofore perpetrated only in times of war. Men had been ruthlessly murdered, tender infants had been dashed on the stones or roasted alive in their own homes, married women had been made the prey of a brutal lust which had in many cases caused their death, and young girls had been violated in sight of their relatives by soldiers who should have been guardians of their honor. Whole streets inhabited by Jews had been razed, and the Jewish quarters of towns had been systematically fired.

In one place, Elizabethgrad [or Elizavetgrad, now Kirovohrad, Ukraine], 30 Jewesses at once had been outraged, two young girls in dread of violation had thrown themselves from the windows, and an old man, who was attempting to save his daughter from a fate worse than death, had been flung from the roof, while 20 soldiers proceeded to work their will on the maiden. This was a specimen of atrocities which had been committed over the whole area. The most atrocious charge of all was that against the Christian women of Russia, who were accused of assisting their friends to violate the Jewesses by holding the victims down, their motive being, as the manifesto suggests, jealousy of the superiority of the Jewesses in dress. The government was charged



Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), was a prominent educator, historian and author in Britain, the United States and Canada. A major building on the Cornell University campus bears his name.

with criminal sympathy, the local authorities generally with criminal inaction, and some of the troops with active participation.

The British heart responded to the appeal. Great public meetings were held, at one of which the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a Roman Cardinal, as the representative of religious liberty in general, and especially of opposition to Jew-burning, at his side, denounced the persecuting bigotry of the Russian Christians. Indignant addresses were largely signed. Russia was accused of re-enacting the worst crimes of the Middle Ages. It was taken for granted on all sides that religious fanaticism was the cause of the riots.

Exaggerated Accounts

Russia, as usual, was silent. But the British government directed its consuls at the different points to report upon the facts. The reports composed two Blue Books, in which, as very few probably took the pains to look into them, the unpopular truth lies buried (*Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1882, 1883).

Those who did read them learned, in the first place, that though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish account was in most cases

exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent. The damage to Jewish property at Odessa, rated in the Jewish account at 1,137,381 rubles, or, according to their higher estimates, 3,000,000 rubles, was rated, Consul-General Stanley tells us, by a respectable Jew on the spot at 50,000 rubles, while the Consul-General himself rates it at 20,000. At Elizabethgrad, instead of whole streets being razed to the ground, only one hut had been unroofed. It appeared that few Jews, if any, had been intentionally killed, though some died of injuries received in the riots. There were conflicts between the Jews who defended their houses and the rioters.

The outrages on women, by which public indignation in England had been most fiercely aroused, and of which, according to the Jewish accounts, there had been a frightful number, no less than 30 in one place and 25 in another, appeared, after careful inquiries by the consuls, to have been very rare.

“... Though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish account was in most cases exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent.”

This is the more remarkable because the riots commonly began with the sacking of the gin shops, which were kept by the Jews, so that the passions of the mob must have been inflamed by drink. The horrible charge brought in the Jewish manifesto against the Russian women, of having incited men to outrage Jewesses and held the Jewesses down, is found to be utterly baseless. The charge of roasting children alive also falls to the ground. So does the charge of violating a Jew's wife and then setting fire to his house. The Jewish manifesto states that a Jewish innkeeper was cooped in one of his own barrels and cast into the Dnieper. This turns out to be a fable, the village which was the alleged scene of it being ten miles from the Dnieper and near no other river of consequence.

The Russian peasant, Christian though he may be, is entitled to justice. As a rule, while ignorant and often intemperate, he is good-natured. There was much brutality in his riot, but fiendish atrocity there was not, and if he struck savagely, perhaps he had suffered long. For the belief that the mob was “doing the will of the Tsar,” in other words, that the government was at the bottom of the rising, there does not appear to have been a shadow of foundation. The action of the authorities was not in all cases equally prompt. In some cases it was culpably

slack. At Warsaw the commandant held back, though as Lord Granville, the British ambassador, bears witness, his motive for hesitation was humanity. But many of the rioters were shot down or bayoneted by the troops, hundreds were flogged, some were imprisoned, and some were sent to Siberia. That any of the military took part in the riots seems to be a fiction. It was not likely that the Russian government, menaced as it is by revolutionary conspiracy, would encourage insurrection.

People of the upper class, who fancied that in the agitation they saw the work of Socialists, though they might dislike the Jews, would hardly sympathize with the rioters. Efforts were made by the government to restore Jewish property, and handsome sums were subscribed for the relief of the sufferers. Yet those who, while they heartily condemned outrage, were willing to accept proof that the Christian men and women of Russia had not behaved like demons, were saluted as modern counterparts of Haman by an eminent Rabbi, who, if the objects of his strictures had cared to retort, might have been asked whether the crucifixion of Haman's ten sons and the slaughter of 75,000 of the enemies of Israel in one day, which, after the lapse of so many centuries, the feast of Purim still joyously commemorates, were not horrors as great as any which have been shown to have actually occurred at Odessa or Elizabethgrad.

Cause of the Troubles

The most important part of the evidence given in the consuls' reports, however, is that which relates to the cause of the troubles. At Warsaw, where the people are Roman Catholics, there appears to have been a certain amount of passive sympathy with the insurgents on religious grounds. But everywhere else the concurrent testimony of the consuls is that the source of the agitation was economical and social, not religious. Bitterness produced by the exactions of the Jew, envy of his wealth, irritation at the display of it in such things as the fine dresses of his women, jealousy of his ascendancy, combined in the lowest of the mob with the love of plunder, were the motives of the people for attacking him, not hatred of his faith. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, who seems to have paid particular attention to the question and made the most careful inquiry, after paying a tribute to the sober, laborious, thrifty character and the superior intelligence of the Jew, and ascribing to these his increasing monopoly of commerce, proceeds (in *Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, No. 1, 1882, pp. 11, 12):

It is chiefly as brokers or middlemen that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without

their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation. To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: they are the principal dealers in spirits; keepers of "vodka" (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame; receivers of stolen goods; illegal pawnbrokers and usurers. A branch they also succeed in is as government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts annually. In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with.

It must, however, be said that there are many well educated, highly respectable, and honorable Jews in Russia, but they form a small minority. This class is not treated upon in this paper. They thoroughly condemn the occupations of their lower brethren, and one of the results of the late disturbances is noticed in the movement at present amongst the Jews. They themselves acknowledge the abuses practised by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

Another thing the Jews are accused of is that there exists among them a system of boycotting; they use their religion for business purposes. This is expressed by the words "koul," or "kagal," and "kherim." For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls, say to Jabob Levy; the other Jews of the district cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price. In the leasing by auction of government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others and afterwards re-lets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. Very crying abuses of farming out land have lately come to light and greatly shocked public opinion. Again, where estates are farmed by Jews, it is distressing to see the pitiable condition in which they are handed over on the expiration of the lease. Experience also shows they are very bad colonists.

Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few rubles' capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it will take him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel. Take the case of a peasant: if he once gets into the hands of this class, he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in south Russia has of late years

passed into the hands of the Israelites, but principally into the hands of intelligent and sober peasants.

From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind — quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes round, money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions; but the peasant has no choice; there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms. It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products, but they reap the benefits of others' labor, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being sapped of its vitality.

The peasants, the vice-consul tells us, often say, when they look at the property of a Jew, "That is my blood." In confirmation of his view he cites the list of demands formulated by the peasants and laid before a mixed committee of inquiry into the causes of the disorder. These demands are all economical or social, with the exception of the complaint that Russian girls in Jewish service forget their religion and with it lose their morals. Everything, in short, seems to bear out the statement of the Russian Minister of the Interior, in a manifesto given in the Blue Book, that "the movement had its main cause in circumstances purely economical;" provided that to "economical" we add "social," and include all that is meant by the phrase "hatred of Jewish usurpation," used in another document.

Vice-Consul Harford, at Sebastopol, is in contact with the Jews of the Crimea, who, he says, are of a superior order, while some of them are not Talmudic Jews, but belong to the mild and Scriptural sect of the Karaites (*Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, No. 2, 1883, p. 17) He says that in his quarter all goes well:

The spirit of antagonism that animates the Russian against the Jew is, in my opinion, in no way to be traced to the difference of creed. In this part of Russia, where we have more denominations of religion than in any other part, I have never, during a residence of 14 years, observed the slightest indication or sectarianism in any class. The peasant, though ignorant and superstitious, is so entirely free from bigotry that even the openly displayed contempt of the fanatical Mohammedan [Mus-

lim] Crim Tartar for the rites and ceremonies of the Russian Church fails to excite in him the slightest feeling of personal animosity; his own feeling with regard to other religions is perfect indifference; he enters a mosque or synagogue just as he would enter a theatre, and regards the ceremony in much the same manner that an English peasant would, neither knowing nor caring to know whether they worshipped God or the moon.

As it is evident from this that race and creed are to the minds of the peasantry of no more consequence than they would be to a Zulu, the only conclusion is that the antipathy is against the usurer, and as civilization can only be expected to influence the rising generation of Russian peasantry, the remedy rests with the Jew, who, if he will not refrain from speculating (in lawless parts of the Empire) on ignorance and drunkenness, must be prepared to defend himself and his property from the certain and natural result of such a policy.

An Official Russian View

All this confirms the statement of M. Pierre Botkine, Secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, who, writing in the *Century Magazine* (Feb. 1893), says:

Replying to the accusation against Russia in the matter of an alleged religious intolerance, I must first point out a great error I have repeatedly encountered here. The promulgation of the laws and regulations against [that is, enforcing] the laws is being generally ascribed in America to persecution on the part of the Orthodox Church. But the Hebrew question in Russia is neither religious nor political; it is purely an economical and administrative question. The actual meaning of the anti-Semitic measures prescribed by our government is not animosity to the religion of the Jews; neither are those measures a deliberate hunting down of the feeble by the powerful; they are an effort to relieve the Empire of the injurious struggle against those particular traits of Hebrew character that were obstructing the progress of our people along their own line of natural development. It may be said in general, that the anti-Semitic movement in Russia is a demonstration by the non-Hebrew part of the population against tendencies of Hebrews which have characterized them the world over, and to which they adhere in Russia.

The Hebrew, as we know him in Russia, is "the eternal Jew." Without a country of his own, and, as a rule, without any desire to become

identified with the country he for the time inherits, he remains, as for hundreds of years he has been, morally unchangeable and without a faculty for adapting himself to sympathy with the people of the race which surrounds him. He is not homogeneous with us in Russia; he does not feel or desire solidarity with us. In Russia he remains a guest only — a guest from long ago, and not an integral part of the community. When these guests without affinity became too many in Russia, when in serious localities their numbers were found injurious to the welfare and the prosperity of our own people as a whole, when they had grown into many wide-spreading ramifications of influence and power, and abused their opportunities as traders with or lenders of money to the poor — when, in a word, they became dangerous and prejudicial to our people — is there anything revolting or surprising in the fact that our government found it necessary to restrict their activity? We did not expel the Jews from the Empire, as is often mistakenly charged, though we did restrict their rights as to localities of domicile and as to kinds of occupations ... Is it just that those who have never had to confront such a situation should blame us for those measures?

Whatever may be said against the restrictions as to residence and occupation laid on the Jews in Russia, from the point of view of policy or humanity, it seems certain that their aim is economical and social, not religious. They fall under the same head with measures taken by the people of the United States to guard their nationality and their character against the invasion of the Chinese. There is apparently no expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Russia which were originally their chief settlements, and which they have hitherto been permitted by law to inhabit. They are only forbidden to spread and extend their financial operations over the rest of the Empire.

The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church

Persecution is not the tendency of the Russian or of the Church to which he belongs. The Eastern Church, while it has been superstitious and somewhat torpid, has been tolerant, and, compared with other orthodox churches, free from the stain of persecution. It has not been actively proselytizing, nor sent forth crusaders, unless the name of crusades can be given to the wars with the Turks, the main motive for which, though the pretext may have been religious, probably has been territorial ambition, and which were certainly not crusades when waged by Catherine, the patroness of Diderot and the cor-

respondent of Voltaire. This is the more remarkable because the Russians had a struggle for their land with the Tartars like that which Spain had with the Moors.

Arthur P. Stanley, D.D., in his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (3rd ed., p. 35) dilates upon this characteristic of the Eastern Christians. He says that "a respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them from violent attacks on the rights of conscience and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own," and he notices that the great philosophers of antiquity are honored by portraits in their churches as heralds of the gospel.

Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, M.A., who is the best authority, while he admits the inferiority of the Russian priests in education, testifies (in *Russia*, pp. 58, 59) to their innocence of persecution, saying that "if they have less learning, culture, and refinement

"In ordinary times the main causes of the hatred of the Jews among the common people appear to have been usury and a social arrogance ..."

than the Roman Catholic priesthood, they have at the same time infinitely less fanaticism, less spiritual pride, and less intolerance towards the adherents of other faiths." The educated classes he represents as generally indifferent to theological questions. The peasantry are superstitious and blindly attached to their own faith, which they identify with their nationality; but they think it natural and right that a man of a different nationality should have a different religion. In Nizhnii-Novgorod, the city of the great fair, the Mahometan [Muslim] Mosque or the Armenian church and the Orthodox cathedral stand side by side. (See Hare's *Studies in Russia*, p. 360.) At one end of a village is the church, at the other the mosque, and the Mahometan spreads his prayer carpet on the deck of a steamer full of Orthodox Russians.

The ecclesiastical constitution of Russia is incompatible with religious equality, and therefore with full religious liberty. The Tsar is practically, though not theoretically, head of the Church as well as of the State; the commander of Holy Russia as a Caliph is the Commander of the Faithful. In the interest rather of national unity than of religious orthodoxy he restrains dissent. But it is against innovation and schism within the pale of the State

Church rather than against disbelief that his power has been exerted. Some Tsars, such as Peter the Great and the Tsarina Catherine II, have been Liberals, and have patronized merit without regard to creed. Nicholas was full of orthodox sentiment and in all things a martinet, yet Sir Mackenzie Wallace has a pleasant anecdote of his commanding the Jewish sentinel at his door who conscientiously refused to respond to the Tsar's customary salutation on Easter Day. No Tsar, however bigoted, has been guilty of such persecution as Philip II. of Spain, Ferdinand of Austria, or Louis XIV [of France]. Russia has had no Inquisition.

That the Jews have had liberty of worship and education, the existence of 6,319 synagogues and of 77 Jewish schools supported by the [Russian] State, besides 1,165 private and communal schools, seems clearly to prove. (See *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1891, pp. 854-856.) It does not seem to be alleged that any attempt has been made by the government at forcible conversion. Whatever may have been the harshness or even cruelty of the measures which it has taken to confine the Jews to their original districts and prevent their spreading over its dominions, its object appears to have been to protect the people against economical oppression and preserve the national character from being sapped by an alien influence, not to suppress the Jewish religion. The law excluding the Jews from Great Russia in fact belongs to the same category as the law of the United States excluding the Chinese.

Jews in the Roman Empire

That Christian fanaticism at all events was not the sole source of the unpopularity of the Jews might have been inferred from the fact that the relation was no better between the Jew and the heathen races during the period of declining polytheism, when religious indifference prevailed and beneath the vast dome of the Roman Empire the religions of many nations slept and moldered side by side. Gibbon, well qualified to speak, for he was himself a citizen of the Roman Empire in sentiment, after narrating the massacres committed by the Jews on the Gentiles in Africa and Cyprus, has expressed in flamboyant phrase the hatred of the Roman world for the Jews, whom he designates as the "implacable enemies, not only of the Roman government but of human kind." (Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. xiv.)

Tacitus speaks of the Jews as enemies of all races but their own (*adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, in *Histories*, V, v), and Juvenal, in a well-known passage, speaks of them as people who would not show a wayfarer his road or guide the thirsty to a spring if he were not of their own faith. Those who maintain that there is nothing in the character, hab-

its, or disposition of the Jew to provoke antipathy have to bring the charge of fanatical prejudice not only against the Russians or against Christendom, but against mankind.

Central Europe

In Germany, in Austria, in Roumania, in all the countries of Europe where this deplorable contest of races is going on, the cause of quarrel appears to be fundamentally the same. It appears to be economical and social, not religious, or religious only in a secondary degree. Mr. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (in *Germany, Present and Past*, Vol. I, pp. 114, 127), tells us that in Germany "there is scarce a village without some Jews in it, who do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait like spiders for the failing Bauer." A German who knew the peasantry well said to Mr. Gould that "he doubted whether there were a happier set of people under the sun;" but he added, after a pause, "so long as they are out of the clutch of the Jew."

Of the German, as well as of the Russian, it may be said that he is not a religious persecutor. If persecution of a sanguinary or atrocious kind has sullied his annals, the arm of it was the house of Austria, with its Spanish connection, and the head was the world-roving Jesuit. In the case of Hungary, Mr. John Paget, who is a Liberal and advocates a Liberal policy towards the Jews, says (in *Hungary and Translyvania*, Vol. I, p. 136): "The Jew is no less active in profiting by the vices and necessities of the peasant than by those of the noble. As sure as he gains a settlement in a village the peasantry become poor." "In Austrian Poland," says a *Times* reviewer, "the worst of the peasant's sluggish content is that it has given him over to the exactions of the Jews." "The Jews," he adds, "are in fact the lords of the country." They are lords not less alien to the people than the Norman was to the Saxon, and perhaps not always more merciful, though in their hands is the writ of ejection instead of the conqueror's sword.

If we cross the Mediterranean the same thing meets us. In Joseph Thomson's *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco* (pp. 418, 419) we read:

As money-lenders the Jews are as maggots and parasites, aggravating and feeding on the diseases of the land. I do not know, for my part, which exercises the greatest tyranny and oppression, the Sultan or the Jew — the one the embodiment of the foulest misgovernment, the other the essence of a dozen Shylocks, demanding, ay, and getting, not only his pound of flesh, but also the blood and nerves. By his outrageous exactions the Sultan drives the Moor into the hands of the Jew, who affords

him a temporary relief by lending him the necessary money on incredibly exorbitant terms. Once in the money-lender's clutches, he rarely escapes till he is squeezed dry, when he is either thrown aside, crushed and ruined, or cast into a dungeon, where, fettered and starved, he is probably left to die a slow and horrible death.

To the position of the Jews in Morocco it would be difficult to find a parallel. Here we have a people alien, despised, and hated, actually living in the country under immeasurably better conditions than the dominant race, while they suck, and are assisted to suck, the very lifeblood of their hosts. The aim of every Jew is to toil not, neither to spin, save the coils which as money-lender he may weave for the entanglement of his necessitous victims.

In the United States

Even if we cross the Atlantic we find the same phenomenon. Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, in his *Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom* (2nd ed., pp. 252, 253), says:

A swarm of Jews has within the last ten years settled in nearly every Southern town, many of them men of no character, opening cheap clothing and trinket shops, ruining or driving out of business many of the old retailers, and engaging in an unlawful trade with the simple negroes, which is found very profitable.

And again (pp. 321, 322):

If his [the planter's] first crop proves a bad one he must borrow money of the Jews at New Orleans to pay his first note. They will sell him this on the best terms they can, often at not less than 25 per cent per annum.

In *Across the Plains* (p. 100), Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson says of the Jews in San Francisco:

Jew storekeepers have already learned the advantage to be gained from this [unlimited credit]; they lead on the farmer into irretrievable indebtedness, and keep him ever after as their bond-slave hopelessly grinding in the mill. So the whirligig of time brings in its revenges, and except that the Jew knows better than to foreclose, you may see Americans bound in the same chains with which they themselves had formerly bound the Mexicans.

These passages were not intended by the writers, nor are they here cited, as general pictures of

the Jews, or as pictures of Jews exclusively. In the last, American sharp practice is included. The passages are cited as indications of the real source of the antagonism tending to show that it is economical not religious.

A Dawning Awareness

Light dawned on the writer's mind touching this question when he had been listening with sympathy to speeches in the British House of Commons on the anti-Semitic movement in Roumania, where, as in Russia, the number of Jews is particularly large and the feeling against them is proportionately intense. The Jewish member who appealed to the government on the subject, and the Minister who rose in response to the appeal, had both of them assumed that it was a case of religious persecution, and the Minister especially had dwelt on the mischievous influence of ecclesiastics; with how little justice, so

"Although the lot of a Jew in the Middle Ages was hard in itself, it was perhaps not so hard compared with that of other classes, notably with that of the serf ..."

far as the priests of the Eastern Church are concerned, we have already seen.

The debate over, the writer was accosted by his friend, the late Dr. Humphry Sandwith, distinguished for his share in the defense of Kars [in Northeast Turkey] against the Russians, who knew the Danubian Principalities well. Dr. Sandwith said that the speakers had been entirely mistaken; that religion was not the motive of the agitation; that neither the people nor their priests were given to persecution; that the government had granted aid to a synagogue; but that Jewish usurers got the simple-minded peasants into their toils and sold them out of their homesteads till the peasants would bear it no longer, and an outbreak ensued. Dr. Sandwith, being a thorough-going Liberal, would have been the last man to palliate religious persecution.

Medieval Religious Sensitivities

It is doubtful whether, even in the Middle Ages, the quarrel was not less religious and more economical or social than is supposed. That was the age of religious intolerance; Christian heretics, such as the Albigenses, were persecuted with fully as much cruelty as the Jews. Jews who had ventured to settle in the Catholic communities for the sake of gain, braved the same sort of peril which would have been



For several centuries, Jews throughout Europe were required to wear distinctive clothing, hats or badges. This drawing from a 14th-century French miniature shows a Jew wearing the obligatory red and white circular badge.

braved by an enterprising trader who had thrust himself into Japan during its close period. But as a rule, though they were hated, they were not persecuted; they were tolerated and allowed to build their synagogues and worship God in their own way. They were regarded, not like heretics, as religious traitors, but as religious aliens. Their religious blindness, as well as their penal homelessness, was viewed as the act of God. They were privileged in disbelief.

Aquinas expressly lays it down that they are to be tolerated as a useful testimony borne, though by adversaries, to the truth of Christianity (*Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, Quaest. X, Art. xi*). It is not true that the great Doctor of the Middle Ages sanctions the forcible conversion of the children of Jews. He raises the question and decides it in the negative (*Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, Art. xii*). An argument stated by him only to be set aside has been taken for his conclusion. In

the *Corpus Juris Canonie* it is laid down that Jews shall not be baptized against their will or inclination, since enforced baptism does not make a Christian. Their persons are to be secure from violence, their graves from spoliation, their customary rights from invasion, their festivals from interruption, their servants from abduction, their cemeteries from profanation (*Decret. Greg.*, Lib. V, Tit. vi).

During the Crusades

By the kings, and notably by the Angevin [Plantagenet] kings of England, the Jews were protected as the agents of royal extortion, sucking by usury the money from the people which was afterwards squeezed out of the usurer by the king. Of the common people it is not, so far as we can see, the tendency to persecute on account of religion, however superstitious they may be. It is rather by the possessors of ecclesiastical power and wealth, by Archbishops of Toledo and Prince Bishops of Germany, whom dissent threatens with dispossession, or by kings like Philip II and Louis XIV, under priestly influence, that the engines of persecution are set at work. At the time of the Crusades, Christian fanat-

“The slave trade ... in the early Middle Ages was in Jewish hands ...”

icism being excited to frenzy, there were dreadful massacres of Jews, and forced conversions, though no reliance can be placed on the figures of medieval chroniclers, who set down at random 20,000 victims slain, or 200,000 forced conversions.

The Jew at that time was odious not only as a misbeliever in the midst of the Christian camp, whose presence would turn from it the countenance of God, but as a suspected friend and ally at heart of the Oriental power. The Jews must have foreseen the storm, and might have escaped by flight, but they were perhaps tempted by the vast harvest afforded them in the general sale of possessions by the Crusaders to buy equipments, while by that traffic their unpopularity was increased. In ordinary times the main causes of the hatred of the Jews among the common people appear to have been usury and a social arrogance, which was particularly galling on the part of the alien and the enemy of Christ. In the riots the people made for the place in which the Jewish bonds were kept. At York, the scene of the worst anti-Jewish riot in England, the chronicler tells us there were two Jews, Benedict and Joce, who had built in the middle of the city

houses like palaces, where they dwelt like princes of their own people and tyrants of the Christians, keeping almost royal state, and exercising harsh tyranny against those whom they oppressed with their usuries. The usury was grinding and ruthless.

In the Chronicle of Joceline de Brakelond we see how rapidly a debt of 27 pounds, owed to a Jew, grew to 880. Jews at Oxford were forbidden by edict to take more than 43 per cent. So it was generally. Political economy will say that this was justifiable, in the circumstances perhaps useful, and the penalty due to the Christian superstition which made the lending of money at interest an unholy and therefore a perilous trade. Nevertheless, it was hateful, at least sure to engender hate. The Lombards and Cahorsins, who, when the Jews were for a time driven from the field, took up the business, incurred the same hatred, though in their case there was no religious or social feeling to aggravate the unpopularity of the trade. A Spanish Chancellor describes the Jews as the bloodsuckers of the afflicted people, as men who exact fifty per cent, eighty, a hundred, and through whom the land is desolate, their hard hearts being callous to tears and groans, and their ears deaf to petitions for delay. (See *The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time*, by Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A., p. 245) ...

Usury Double Standard and Ostenatious Wealth

The law of the Jews themselves, be it observed, proscribes usury in the case of a tribal brother, permitting it in the case of a stranger. “Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury: unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it” (Deuteronomy 23: 19, 20). The Jew, then, on the subject of usury is not less superstitious than the Christian. In truth the Christian superstition may be said to have been derived from the Jewish law. In practising usury on the Christians among whom he dwelt the Jew showed that he regarded them not as brethren but as strangers.

The Jews in the Middle Ages after all were not so maltreated as to prevent them from amassing what was for that time enormous wealth. Of this they appear in those days, as they sometimes do in these, to have made ostentatious and, in the eyes of natives and Christians, especially if they had been victims of extortion, offensive use. A Cortes in Portugal, in 1481, complained of Jewish luxury and display, of Jews who rode splendidly caparisoned [ornamentally covered] horses, wore silk doublets

[ornamented jackets], carried jewel-hilted swords, and entered churches where they mocked the worship. Jewish haughtiness seems sometimes even to have indulged in insults to the popular religion. At Oxford it mocks the miracles of St. Frydeswide before her votaries, assaults a religious procession, and tramples on the cross. At Lynn the Jews attack a church to drag out a convert from Judaism to Christianity, for whose blood they thirsted, and the people of the place are half afraid to resist them, knowing that they are protected by the king.

Besides their usury, the Jews were suspected of clipping the coin. Their function as the middlemen of royal rapacity must have been most odious, not least when they handled for the king Church estates which he had wrongfully taken into his hands. In expelling them from England, Edward I, the best of kings, no doubt thought that he was doing a good deed, while his people were unquestionably grateful. The worthy Abbot Samson, of St. Edmondbury, in the same way earned the gratitude of the people of that place by ridding it of the Jews. The clearest, as well as the most terrible, case of persecution of the Jews for religion was in Spain, and there, it must be remembered, when the Jew was burned, the Christian suspected of heresy was burned at his side.

Jew and Muslim

Even in Spain it is not easy to say how much was hatred of religion, how much was hatred of race. For centuries the Spanish Christians had struggled for the land with Islam, and the history of Spain had been one long Crusade. The Jew was identified with Islam. A Jewish writer, Lady Magnus, in her history of her race (*About the Jews Since Bible Times*, pp. 195-197), says:

Both in the East and in the West the rise of Mohammedanism [Islam] was, in truth, as the dawn of a new day to the despised and dispersed Jews. If we except that one bitter quarrel between the earliest followers of the Prophet and the Jews of Arabia — and that, we must note, was no organized or systematic persecution, but rather an ebullition of anger from an ardent enthusiast at his first unexpected rebuff — we shall find that Judaism had much reason to rejoice at the rapid spread of Mohammedanism. Monotheists, like the Jews, abhorring like them all forms of image worship, worshipping in simple fashion their one God Allah, observing dietary laws like those of Moses, the Mohammedans both in their faith and in their practice naturally found more grounds for agreement with Jewish doctrine than with the Christian dogma of a complex

Godhead, or with the undeveloped aspirations of the heathen. And besides some identity of principle and of race between the Mohammedan and the Jew there soon discovered itself a certain hardly definable kinship of habit and custom — a sort of sympathy, in fact, which is often more effectual than even more important causes in promoting friendly relations either nationally or individually. Then, also, there was the similarity of language; for Arabic, like Hebrew, belongs to what is called the Semitic group ...

Nearly a century of experience of the political and social results of the Mohammedan conquests most, inevitably, have made the year 710 stand out to the Jews of that time as the beginning of a grand new era in their history. Centuries of cruelty had made the wise loyal counsel of Jeremiah to "pray for the peace of the land whither ye are led captive; its peace shall be your peace also," a hard task for the most loyal of consciences; and in that early year of the eighth century, when Spain was added to the list of the Mohammedan victories, and the triumphant flag of the Crescent was hoisted on tower and citadel, the liberty of conscience which it practically proclaimed must have been in the widest sense a cause for national rejoicing to the Jews.

The kindness of the Mahometan [Muslim] to the Jew may here be overrated, but the sympathy between Judaism and Islam cannot be questioned, and it meant common antipathy to Christendom, which Christendom could not fail to reciprocate, especially in its crusading mood. We sit at ease and sneer at the fanaticism of the Crusaders. But some strong motive was needed to make men leave their homes and their wives and go to die as the vanguard of Christendom on Syrian battlefields. Let us not forget that the question whether Christianity and Christian civilization or Islam, with its despotism and its harem, should reign in Europe came to be decided, not without long and perilous debate, so near the heart of Christendom as the plain of Tours. The Jews of Southern France, like those of Spain, were suspected of inviting the invaders. If they did they were not without excuse. But their excuse could hardly be expected to pass muster with Charles Martel.

From religious intolerance in the Dark Ages, or long after the end of the Dark Ages, nobody was free. The Jew was not. He had striven as long as he had a chance, by all means in his power, unscrupulously using the Roman or the Persian as his instruments, to crush Christianity. His own law punished blasphemy with death and bade the worshipper of Jeho-



In spite of restrictions, many Jews acquired great wealth and power during the Middle Ages. This contemporary drawing shows Jossel of Rosheim (1480-1554), a prominent "court Jew," financier to Emperor Charles V, and a leader of Germany's Jewish community. Wearing the obligatory Jewish badge, he holds a Jewish religious book in one hand and a money bag in the other.

vah slaughter everything that breathed in a captured city of the heathen. [Among many examples, see: Numbers 21: 34-35; Deuteronomy 2:34, 20: 16-17; Joshua 11: 20-22; I Samuel 15: 3, 8.] It was hence, in fact, that the Inquisitor partly drew his inspiration. Medieval darkness had passed away when Judaism sought the life of Spinoza and scoured Uriel Acosta in the synagogue.

Jews and Serfs in Medieval England

Although the lot of a Jew in the Middle Ages was hard in itself, it was perhaps not so hard compared with that of other classes, notably with that of the serf, as the perpetual addition of piteous epithets to his name by common writers might lead us to suppose. *Ivanhoe* is not history; Freeman's works are. In *The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First* (Vol. I, p. 160), Edward A. Freeman says:

In the wake of the conqueror the Jews of Rouen found their way to London, and before long we find settlements of the Hebrew race in the chief

cities and boroughs of England: at York, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford, and even at the gate of the Abbot of St. Edmonds and St. Albans. They came as the king's special men, or more truly as his special chattels, strangers alike to the Church and the commonwealth, but strong in the protection of a master who commonly found it his interest to protect them against all others.

Hated, feared, and loathed, but far too deeply feared to be scorned or oppressed, they stalked defiantly among the people of the land, on whose wants they threw, safe from harm or insult, save now and then, when popular wrath burst all bounds, when their proud mansions and fortified quarters could shelter them no longer from raging crowds who were eager to wash out their debts in the blood of their creditors. The romantic picture of the despised, trembling Jew, cringing before every Christian whom he meets, is, in any age of English history, simply a romantic picture.

The Jews found it worth their while to buy their way back into lands from which they had been banished, and their existence in which is pictured by historians as a hell. If they were heavily taxed and sometimes pillaged, they were exempted from the most grievous of all taxes, service in war. Their badge, though a stigma, was also a protection, since it marked them as serfs of the king. Even the Ghetto, where there was one, would be comparatively a small grievance when nationalities, crafts, and family clans had their special quarters in cities. Any immigrant would have been less at home in the closely organized communities of feudalism and Catholicism than in the loose society of the Roman Empire. But the Jew was there by his own choice. The tenure of land in a feudal realm, being military, land could hardly be held by a Jew. But Jews were not forbidden by law to hold land in England till late in the reign of Henry III [1216-1272], when it was found that they were getting estates into their hands by mortgage, which would have been ruinous to the feudal system.

A community has a right to defend its territory and its national integrity against an invader, whether his weapon be the sword or foreclosure. In the territories of the Italian Republics the Jews might, so far as we see, have bought land and taken to farming had they pleased. But before this they had thoroughly taken to trade. Under the filling Empire they were the great slave traders, buying captives from barbarian invaders and probably acting as general brokers of spoils at the same time. They entered England in the train of the Norman conqueror. There was, no doubt, a perpetual strug-

gle between their craft and the brute force of the feudal populations. But what moral prerogative has craft over force?

Mr. Arnold White tells the Russians that, if they would let Jewish intelligence have free course, Jews would soon fill all high employments and places of power to the exclusion of the natives, who now hold them. Russians are bidden to acquiesce and rather to rejoice in this by philosophers, who would perhaps not relish the cup if it were commended to their own lips. The law of evolution, it is said, prescribes the survival of the fittest. To which the Russian boor may reply, that if his force beats the fine intelligence of the Jew the fittest will survive and the law of evolution will be fulfilled. It was force rather than fine intelligence which decided on the field of Zama that the Latin, not the Semite, should rule the ancient and mold the modern world.

Religious antipathy, no doubt, has always added and continues to add bitterness to the social quarrel. Among ignorant peasants it still takes grotesque, sometimes hideous, shapes, such as the cruel fancy that the Jews sacrifice Christian children and spread pestilence. The Jew has always been felt to be a power of evil, and the peasant imagination lends to the power of evil horns and hoofs. But even the peasant imagination does not lend horns and hoofs to any power which is felt to be harmless, much less to one which has always been beneficent, as we are asked to believe that the Jews have been. The people are not everywhere fools or fiends. Let it be remembered, too, that the Jewish religion is not merely a religion of peculiar opinion. It is a religion of social exclusiveness, of arrogated superiority to Gentiles, and treatment of them as unclean, of the Pentateuch with its Chosen People, and of the feast of Purim. Milman thinks it possible that in the offensive celebration of the feast of Purim some of the calumnies about the Jews may have had their source.

People of a higher class, whom Jewish usury does not touch, object to Judaism on higher grounds. They object to it because it is at variance with the unity of the nation and threatens to eat out the core of nationality. Admitting the keenness of Jewish intelligence, they say that intelligence is not always beneficent, nor is submission to it always a matter of duty, especially when its ascendancy is gained by such means as the dexterous appropriation of the circulating medium, and when it is, as they believe, the result not of individual effort in a fair field, but of the collective effort of a united, though scattered race, aided by a press in Jewish hands. They demur to having the high places of their community monopolized, as Mr. Arnold White says they might be in Russia, by unsympathetic aliens turning the rest of the nation into hewers of wood and drawers

of water. This feeling, if it is selfish, is natural, and should be charitably viewed by those who are free from the danger.

Some of the opposition to Jewish ascendancy arises from dread of materialism, the triumph of which over the spiritual character and aspirations of Christian communities would, it is apprehended, follow the victory of the Jew, an impersonation of the power of wealth. Among the anti-Semites are Christian Socialists seeking the liberation of the laboring class from the grasp of usury and the money power. [In Germany] Herr [Adolf] Stoecker [1835-1909] belongs, it seems, to this sect, and far from being an enemy of the Jewish people, is a devout believer in the Old Testament. To be opposed on social or patriotic ground to Judaism as a system is not to be a hater of the Jews, any more than to be opposed to Islam or Buddhism as a system is to be a hater of the Mahometan or the Buddhist.

Medieval Myths

The impression prevails that Judaism during the Middle Ages was a civilizing power, in fact the great civilizing power, while its beneficent action was repressed by a barbarous Christendom. The leading shoot of civilization, both material and intellectual, was republican Italy, where the Jews, though they were not persecuted, never played a leading part. You may read through Sismondi's *History [of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages]* almost without being made aware of their existence. Intellectually superior in a certain sense no doubt they were; their wealth exempted them from manual labor, and gave them an advantage, as it does now, in the race of intelligence. They were also practically exempted from military service. They preserved Hebrew and Oriental learning, and to them Europe owed the transmission of the works of Aristotle through Arabic translations. But in their medieval roll of celebrated names the great majority are those of Talmudists or Cabalists. The most illustrious is that of Maimonides, whose influence on the progress of humanity surely was not very great, albeit he was let and hindered only by the narrow and jealous orthodoxy of his own people. Jews were in request as physicians, though they seem to have drawn their knowledge from the Arabians. They had much to do with the foundation of the medical school of Montpellier; the origin of that at Salerno was Benedictine. But if they founded a medical science, what became of the medical science which they founded? At the close of the Middle Ages there was none. A Jewish physician, no doubt the most eminent of his class, is called in by Innocent VIII. His treatment is transfusion of blood. He kills three boys in the process and then runs away.

Of the money trade the Jews were generally the

masters, though in Italy that, too, was in the hands of native houses, such as the Medici, Bardi, and Peruzzi, while at a later period the Fuggers of Augsburg were the Rothschilds of Germany. But the Jews never were the masters of the grand commerce or of that maritime enterprise in which the Middle Ages gloriously closed. Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire has observed in his history of Spain that their addiction was to petty trade. Showing abundant sympathy for Jewish wrongs, he finds himself compelled to contrast the "narrowness and rapacity" of their commerce with the boldness and grandeur of Arab enterprise (*Histoire d'Espagne*, Vol. III, p. 147). The slave trade, which in the early Middle Ages was in Jewish hands, was not then the reproach that it is now, yet it never was a noble or a beneficent trade.

Spain is supposed to have owed her fall to the expulsion of the Jews, but the acme of her greatness came after their expulsion; and her fall was due to despotism, civil and religious, to her false commercial system, to the diversion of her energy from industry to gold-seeking and conquest, and not least to the overgrown and heterogeneous empire which was the supposed foundation of her grandeur. England, in the period between the expulsion of the Jews under Edward I [in 1290] and their readmission under Cromwell [in 1656], became a commercial nation and a famous naval power; and the greatness thus achieved was English, not Gibeonite, as it would have been under Jewish ascendancy; it was part of the fullness of national life, and was pro-

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lific not only of Whittingtons and Drakes, but of Shakespeares and Bacons. As financiers it is likely that the Jews were useful in advancing money for great works; they also furnished money for enterprises such as Strongbow's expedition to Ireland. But the assertion, often repeated, that they provided the means for building the churches, abbeys, and colleges of England must be qualified in face of the fact that the greater part of the edifices is of dates subsequent to the expulsion of the Jews. Sal-

isbury Cathedral was built before the expulsion. But we happen to know that the 40,000 marks which it cost were supplied by contributions from the Prebendaries, collections from different dioceses, and grants from Alicia de Bruere and other benefactors. (See Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England*, Southern Div., Part I, p. 94).

No financial or material advantage at all events could have made up to a nation for the ascendancy of a tribe of alien usurers.

Judaism is now the great financial power of Europe, that is, it is the greatest power of all. It is no longer necessary, out of pity for it, to falsify history, and traduce Christendom.

The Talmud

Of the two works on which, during the Middle Ages, Jewish intellect was chiefly employed, the Cabbala [or Kabbalah] is on all hands allowed to be mystical nonsense. Of the Talmud, Dr. Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., assuredly no Jew-baiter, in his introductory Preface to a volume of selections from it (*A Talmudic Miscellany*. Compiled and translated by Paul Isaac Hershon), says:

Wisdom there is in the Talmud, and eloquence and high morality; of this the reader may learn something even in the small compass of the following pages. How could it be otherwise when we bear in mind that the Talmud fills twelve large folio volumes, and represents the main literature of a nation during several hundred years? But yet I venture to say that it would be impossible to find less wisdom, less eloquence, and less high morality, imbedded in a vaster bulk of what is utterly valueless to mankind — to say nothing of those parts of it which are indelicate and even obscene — in any other national literature of the same extent. And even of the valuable residuum of true and holy thoughts, I doubt whether there is even one which had not long been anticipated, and which is not found more nobly set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

This judgment is fully borne out by the selections which follow, and which are made by Mr. Hershon, a known Hebrew scholar, on an impartial principle. It is supported by other independent critics, such as Thirlwall, who spoke of the Talmud as an ocean of nonsense. The writer will not presume to speak, though he looks back upon the perusal of a Latin translation of the Mishna as one of the least pleasant labors of a student's life. Dr. Deutsch's counterfeit presentment of the Talmud, to which Dr. Farrar refers, is a standing caution. In every page of Mr. Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany* we have such

things as this:

"There were two things which God first thought of creating on the eve of the Sabbath, which, however, were not created till after the Sabbath had closed. The first was fire, which Adam by divine suggestion drew forth by striking together two stones; and the second was the mule, produced by the crossing of two different animals." — *P'sachim*, fol. 54, col 1.

"The Rabbis have taught that there are three reasons why a person should not enter a ruin: 1. Because he may be suspected of evil intent; 2. Because the walls might tumble upon him; 3. And because of evil spirits that frequent such places." — *Berachoth*, fol. 3, col 1.

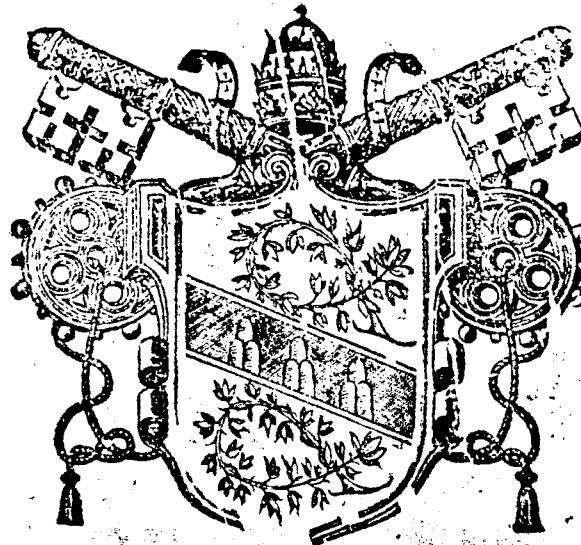
"The stone which Og, King of Bashan, meant to throw upon Israel is the subject of a tradition delivered on Sinai. 'The camp of Israel I see,' he said, 'extends three miles; I shall therefore go and root up a mountain three miles in extent and throw it upon them.' So off he went, and finding such a mountain, raised it on his head, but the Holy One — blessed be He! — sent an army of ants against him, which so bored the mountain over his head that it slipped down upon his shoulders, from which he could not lift it, because his teeth, protruding, had riveted it upon him." — *Berachoth*, fol. 54, col. 2.

"Three things are said respecting the finger-nails: He who trims his nails and buries the parings is a pious man; he who burns these is a righteous man; but he who throws them away is a wicked man, for mischance might follow, should a female step over them." — *Moed Katan*, fol. 18, col 1.

More Nonsense

Abraham's height, according to the Talmudists, was that of 74 men put together. His food, his dress, and his strength were those of 74 men. He built for the abode of his 17 children by Keturah, an iron city, the walls whereof were so lofty that the sun never penetrated them. He gave them a bowl full of precious stones, the brilliancy of which supplied them with light in the absence of the sun. He had a precious stone suspended from his neck, upon which every sick person who gazed was healed of his disease, and when he died God hung up the stone on the sphere of the sun. Before his time there was no such thing as a beard; but as many mistook Abraham and Isaac for each other, Abraham prayed to God for a beard to distinguish him, and it was granted him. Every one has a thousand malignant

Contra hebreos retinente li
bros in quibus aliquid con
tra fidem catholicam no
tetur vel scribatur.



Romzapud Antonium Bladum Impressorem Cameralem.

In 1554 Pope Julius III issued this edict ordering Jews to surrender all copies of the Talmud. Because of its viciously anti-Christian content, this authority of Jewish religious law has been repeatedly banned or suppressed by Church officials. On papal order, 24 wagonloads of Talmudic writings were confiscated and publicly burned in Paris in 1242. Similar public burnings were carried out in Rome and other Italian cities in 1553. In 1757 nearly a thousand copies were publicly burned in Poland.

spirits at his left side, and ten thousand at his right. The crowding at the schools is caused by their pushing in. If one would discover traces of their presence, he has only to sift some ashes on the floor at his bedside, and next morning he will see the footmarks as of fowls. If he would see the demons themselves, he must burn to ashes the afterbirth of a first-born black kitten, the offspring of a first-born black cat, put some of the ashes into his eyes, and he will not fail to see the demons. The medical and physical apophthegms of the Talmud do not give much evidence of science: "dropsy is a sign of sin, jaundice of hatred without a cause, and quinsy of slander"; "six things possess medicinal virtue: cabbage, lungwort, beet-root, water, certain parts of the offal of

animals, and, in the opinion of some, little fishes."

Mr. Hershon's collection abounds with nonsense on this subject as absurd as anything in medieval quackery. Other features of the work are an Oriental indelicacy, and a pride of Rabbinical learning which treats illiteracy as almost criminal, looking down upon the illiterate as an American would look down upon the Negro.

The most superstitious of Christian writings in the Dark Ages could not be more tainted with demonology and witchcraft, nor in any monkish chronicle do we find fables so gross. Few would set the Talmud, as presented by Mr. Hershon, or the Cabbala, above the works of such writers as Anselm, Aquinas, the author of *Imitatio Christi*, the authors of hymns and liturgical compositions of the Christian Middle Ages; or, in the department of science, above the works of Roger Bacon.

We have been speaking, be it observed, of the Talmud as the work and monument of Jewish intelligence and morality in the Dark Ages; we have not been speaking of the intelligence or morality of the Jews of the present day. The charge is constantly

"... The Jewish religion is not merely a religion of peculiar opinion. It is a religion of social exclusiveness, of arrogated superiority to Gentiles..."

brought against Christendom of having by its barbarous bigotry repressed the beneficent action of Jewish intellect, which would otherwise have enlightened and civilized the world. The answer is apparently found in the Cabbala and the Talmud. By the account of the Jewish historian [Heinrich] Graetz, it would seem that Rabbinical orthodoxy was not less opposed than Papal orthodoxy to science, philosophy, and culture. We are led to believe that, at last, Talmudic bigotry and obscurantism had prevailed, when Judaism was rescued by Moses Mendelssohn, who himself owed his emancipation to Lessing. Nathan the Wise is a philosopher and philanthropist of the eighteenth century, not a Talmudic Jew.

A Tribal Morality

Still more notable, however, than the absurdities are the passages indicative of a tribal morality which prescribes one mode of dealing with those who are, and another mode of dealing with those

who are not, of the tribe.

"If the ox of an Israelite bruise the ox of a Gentile, the Israelite is exempt from paying damages; but should the ox of a Gentile bruise the ox of an Israelite, the Gentile is bound to recompense him in full." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 38, col. 1.

"When an Israelite and a Gentile have a law-suit before thee, if thou canst, acquit the former according to the laws of Israel, and tell the latter such is our law; if thou canst get him off in accordance with Gentile law, do so, and say to the plaintiff such is your law; but if he cannot be acquitted according to either law, then bring forward adroit pretexts and secure his acquittal. These are the words of the Rabbi Ishmael. Rabbi Akiva says, 'No false pretext should be brought forward, because, if found out, the name of God would be blasphemed; but if there be no fear of that, then it may be adduced'." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 113, col. 1.

"If one finds lost property in a locality where a majority are Israelites, he is bound to proclaim it; but he is not bound to do so if the majority be Gentiles." — *Bava Metzia*, fol. 24, col. 1.

"Rabbi Shemuel says advantage may be taken of the mistakes of a Gentile. He once bought a gold plate as a copper of a Gentile for four zourim, and then cheated him out of one zour into the bargain. Rav Cahana purchased a hundred and twenty vessels of wine from a Gentile for a hundred zourim, and swindled him in the payment out of one of the hundred, and that while the Gentile assured him that he confidently trusted to his honesty. Rava once went parts with a Gentile and bought a tree which was cut up into logs. This done, he bade his servant go and pick him out the largest logs, but to be sure to take no more than the proper number, because the Gentile knew how many there were. As Rav Aghi was walking abroad one day he saw some grapes growing in a roadside vineyard, and sent his servant to see whom they belonged to. 'If they belong to a Gentile,' he said, 'bring some here to me; but if they belong to an Israelite, do not meddle with them.' The owner, who happened to be in the vineyard, overheard the Rabbi's order and called out, 'What! is it lawful to rob a Gentile?' 'Oh, no,' said the Rabbi evasively; 'a Gentile might sell, but an Israelite would not'." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 118, col. 2.

'Unclean' Gentiles

The principle which animates these passages appears in a milder form in the Hebrew Scriptures, which license perpetual bondage as well as the taking of interest in the case of a Gentile, not in that of a Hebrew. Such a principle, however mildly expressed, was too likely to be extended in practice. Dr. Edersheim, the author of *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, is favorable enough on religious grounds to the Jews; but in describing their relations to the Gentiles, as regulated by the Talmud, he says (Vol. I, pp. 90, 91):

To begin with, every Gentile child, so soon as born, was to be regarded as unclean. Those who actually worshipped mountains, hills, bushes, etc. — in short, gross idolaters — should be cut down with the sword. But as it was impossible to exterminate heathenism, Rabbinical legislation kept certain definite objects in view, which may be thus summarized: To prevent Jews from being inadvertently led into idolatry; to avoid all participation in idolatry; not to do anything which might aid the heathen in their worship; and, beyond all this, not to give pleasure, or even help, to heathens. The latter involved a most dangerous principle, capable of almost indefinite application by fanaticism. Even the Mishna goes so far as to forbid aid to a mother in the hour of her need, or nourishment to her babe, in order not to bring up a child for idolatry!

But this is not all. Heathens were, indeed, not to be precipitated into danger, but yet not to be delivered from it. Indeed, an isolated teacher ventures even upon this statement: 'The best among the Gentiles, kill; the best among serpents, crush its head.' Even more terrible was the fanaticism which directed that heretics, traitors, and those who had left the Jewish faith should be thrown into actual danger, and, if they were in such, all means for their escape removed. No intercourse of any kind was to be had with such — not even to invoke their medical aid in case of danger to life, since it was deemed that he who had to do with heretics was in imminent peril of becoming one himself, and that, if a heretic returned to the true faith, he should die at once — partly, probably, to expiate his guilt, and partly from fear of relapse.

Contempt for Humanity

Not less significant are the Talmudic expressions of tribal pride and contempt of common humanity. "All Israelites are princes." "All Israelites are holy." "Happy are ye, O Israel, for every one of you, from

the least even to the greatest, is a great philosopher." "As it is impossible for the world to be without air, so also is it impossible for the world to be without Israel." "One empire cometh and another passeth away, but Israel abideth for ever." "The world was created only for Israel: none are called the children of God but Israel; none are beloved before God but Israel." "Ten measures of wisdom came down to the world. The land of Israel received nine, the rest of the world but one."

Judaism and Christianity

Critics of Judaism are accused of bigotry of race, as well as of bigotry of religion. The accusation comes strangely from those who style themselves the Chosen People, make race a religion, and treat all races except their own as Gentiles and unclean.

The notion that the Jews are to be maltreated because their ancestors by the hand of Pilate cruci-

".... Every Gentile child, so soon as born, was to be regarded as unclean ..."

fied Christ, has long been discarded and derided by all enlightened Christians. But equally baseless is the notion that Christianity owes homage to Judaism, has any particular interest in it, or any particular duty concerning it. To Talmudic Judaism, at all events, it owes nothing. Whether in its origin it owed anything to the liberal school of Hillel, we cannot tell. The Talmud is a vast repertory of legalism, formalism, ceremonialism, and casuistry. Nothing can be more opposed to the spontaneity of conscience, trust in principle, and preference of the spirit to the letter characteristic of the Gospel, in which even the Ten Commandments are superseded by the Two.

The pervading intention of the Talmud is, by multiplying ceremonial barriers, to keep the Chosen People separate from the Gentiles among whom they lived; in other words, to perpetuate the tribe. Christianity is a religion of humanity. Baptism is a rite of initiation into a universal brotherhood. Circumcision, the Jewish circumcision at all events, is the mark of enrollment in an exclusive tribe. The fundamental antagonism of Judaism to Christianity was shown, not only in the murder of Christ, but in the bitter persecution of his followers. Christianity had its antecedents, but it begins with Christ: it has no relation to Talmudic Judaism but those of reaction and secession.

Neither Accursed Nor Sacred

We have given up the fancy that the Jew is accursed. We must cease to believe that he is sacred. Israel was the favorite people of Jehovah, as every tribe was the favorite of its own god. The belief that the Father of all and the God of justice had a favorite race, made with it a covenant sealed with the barbarous rite of circumcision, pledged himself to promote its interest against those of other races, destroyed all the innocent first-born of Egypt to force Pharaoh to let it go, licensed its aggrandizement by conquest, stopped the sun in heaven to give it time to slaughter people whose lands it invaded without a cause, and gratified its malignity by enjoining it when it took one of the cities which were given it for its inheritance to save alive nothing that breathed, ought now to be laid aside, with all its corollaries and consequences, including the passionate, and, to the Hebrew, somewhat offensive effort to

“We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our churches and we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favoritism to the Almighty.”

convert this particular race to Christianity. We have been told from the pulpit that at the last day the world will be judged by a Jew, and a religious lady once suggested to a Jew who had been converted to Christianity that he should go on circumcising his sons. We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our churches and we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favoritism to the Almighty. The belief that “God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth” is the foundation of a religion of humanity, and Judaism is its practical denial.

Struggling with the Old Testament

Jesus called himself the Son of Man. He was a Galilean, that is, in high Jewish estimation, an inferior Jew, setting aside the “endless” or “profitless” genealogies which the writer of the First Epistle to Timothy classes with fables and bids us not to heed. Born into Judaism, he accepted it and “fulfilled” all its “righteousness,” while he must have known, as his antagonists did, that his principles would sub-

vert it. Because he did this, we have taken upon our understandings and hearts a belief in the divine authority of the Old Testament, that is, of the whole mass of Hebrew literature; we have bound ourselves to see inspiration, not only in its more elevated, spiritual, and moral parts, but in those which are not elevated, spiritual, or even moral.

We torture our consciences into approval of the spoiling of the Egyptians by a fraud, the slaughter of the Canaanites, the slaying of Sisera, the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and David’s legacy of vengeance; our intellects into the acceptance of the Book of Chronicles as authentic history, and of such miracles as the stopping of the sun, the conversion of Lot’s wife into a pillar of salt, the speaking ass of Balaam, the destruction of the children who mocked Elisha by a bear, and the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of a whale. In church we read, with psalms of universal beauty, psalms of Oriental vindictiveness. We constrain ourselves to see divine meaning, not only in the sublime passages of Isaiah, but in the obscurest and most incoherent utterances of his brother prophets. We read theological mysteries into a love-song because it is a part of the sacred volume. Till this superstition is cast out we shall ill appreciate what is really divine in the Old Testament. Not in the darker side of the Puritan character alone are the evil effects of this idolatry to be traced.

There was much that was infinitely memorable, but recent criticism forbids us to believe that there was anything miraculous, in the history of Israel. Whatever may have been the local origin of the Jews, who spoke the same language as the other inhabitants of Canaan, the race, we may be sure, was cast in the same primeval mold as the kindred races. The story of the Patriarchs and the Exodus being in all its parts — the primitive theophanies in the tents of Patriarchs, the supernatural birth of Isaac, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the transformation of Lot’s wife, the wrestling of Jacob with Jehovah, the marvellous story of Joseph, the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites, the competition between the envoys of Jehovah and the Egyptian magicians, the plagues of Egypt, the drying up of the Red Sea, the forty years’ wandering in the barren Sinaitic desert, the prodigies which there took place, the giants of Canaan, and the stopping of the sun — manifestly poetical, it would seem that the narrative as a whole must, in accordance with a well-known canon of criticism, be dismissed from history and relegated to another domain.

Of the exact process by which the finer spirits of Israel attained a tribal monotheism, which at last verged on monotheism pure and simple, and carried with it a high morality, while the grosser spirits were always hankering after the groves and images

of their idolatry, no exact account has been given us, though the prophets, as moral reformers, clearly played a great part in it. But it involved no miracle, since without miracle Socrates and Plato, Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus could rise to the same level. The peculiar service rendered to humanity by Judaism was the identification of religion with morality through the conception of a God of righteousness and of justice and mercy as his law. Against which we have to set the dark shadow cast on our spiritual life by the cruel fanaticism of the Jew and the sombre denunciations of his prophets. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was extraneous to Judaism, and was rejected by one of its sects; the tribal idea of immortality being the perpetuation of the family in the tribe.

Jewish Parasitism

Nor is there anything miraculous, penal, or even mysterious, about the Jewish dispersion or its commercial character. The case of Israel is one, though incomparably the most sharply defined, as well as the most memorable, of a number of cases of parasitism, to borrow that phrase from botany. Other cases are those of the Armenians, the Parsees, the Greeks of the dispersion, ancient and modern, and humblest of all, the Gypsies ... The dispersion of the Jews was anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, for Paul found Jewish settlements, mercantile no doubt, wherever he went. It may have begun with the transplantation to Babylon, and have been extended by the transplantation to Egypt under the Ptolemies. But its principal cause probably was the narrowness of the Jewish territory, combined with the love of gain in the Jew ...

Apparently, there was a religious party in Judea which wished to make the people simple and pious tillers of the soil, and from which emanated that ideal polity of husbandmen with hereditary lots and a year of jubilee, ascribed by its framers to the great lawgiver of the race. But the trading instinct was too strong. In the stories of the patriarch who bought the birthright of his hungry brother, of the Jewish vizier who taught Pharaoh how to obtain the surrender of all the freeholds of his people by taking advantage of the famine, and of the Hebrews who spoiled the Egyptians by pretending to borrow jewels which they never meant to return, we see the gleamings of a character which was not likely to be content with the moderate gains of a small farming community.

Unity in Dispersion

Jewish parasitism, still to use the botanic metaphor, could not fail to be confirmed by the fall of Jerusalem, which deprived the dispersed nationality of its center, though the holy city even in its des-

olation remained the Mecca of Judaism ... Nationality was preserved by the Mosaic law, the Talmud, and circumcision, the last being probably the strongest bond of all. "That the Jews," says Spinoza, "have maintained themselves so long in spite of their disorganized or dispersed condition, is not at all to be wondered at when it is considered how they separated themselves from all other nationalities in such a way as to bring upon themselves the hatred of all, and that, not only by external rites contrary to those of other nations, but also by the sign of circumcision, which they most religiously retain."

Any other race of strong vitality with the same bonds and barriers might have retained their nationality equally well. The Parsees, though a much weaker community in their origin, have retained their separate existence for eleven centuries. The Gypsies appear to have retained their separate existence for five centuries. There is therefore nothing miraculous about the wandering Jew, nor need we suppose that he is the special object either of the wrath or the favor of heaven ...

Israel henceforth definitely became what it has always remained, a tribe scattered yet united, sojourning in all communities, blending with none, and forming a nation within each nation. The natural tendency of a race without a country was not to agriculture but to such trades as the Jew has plied, especially the money trade. The insecurity and uncertainty of his residence would deter him from owning property which could not easily be removed. Habit became ingrained and the attempts to form agricultural colonies of the Jews at the present day appear to be uniformly unsuccessful ... The trading instinct seems to have been too inveterate even when Jews have been carried back to their own land.

The Jew has thus worn everywhere the unpopular aspect of an intruder, who by his financial skill was absorbing the wealth of the community without adding to it. Not to produce but to make a market of everything has been his general tendency and forte. Among other things he has made a market of war. He bought Christian captives and spoils of the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire. He bought up at forced sales the property of those who were departing for the Crusades. He has constantly followed in the wake of armies, making his profit out of the havoc and out of the recklessness of the soldier. General Grant found it necessary [December 1862] to banish Jews from his camp. On the field of Austerlitz Marshal Lannes bids one who accosts him to wait till he has stopped the depredations of the Jews.

Rules for Jewish Distinctiveness

That the Jew clings not only to his religion but to his nationality, and that the two are blended together, or rather are identical, can hardly be doubted when we find in a Jewish Catechism (Jewish School Books - No. 1, *The Law of Moses: A Catechism of the Jewish Religion*, new edition, pp. 68, 69. By the Rev. A. P. Mendes) such a passage as this:

Q. What other ordinances has God made to prevent our falling into sin?

A. Those which forbid our associating with bad men or intermarrying with wicked and idolatrous nations.

"Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." — Exodus 23: 2. "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them (the nations); thy daughter thou shall not give to his son, nor his daughter shall thou take unto thy son." — Deuteronomy 7: 3.

Q. Is this latter command important?

A. Yes, it is of the greatest moment, and the experience of the past has shown its importance.

Q. In what manner?

A. Whenever our people have intermarried with other nations, they have fallen into their idolatries. "But they were mingled among the heathen and learned their works; and they served their idols which were a snare unto them." — Psalms 106: 34, 35 [35, 36].

Q. Does the law lay much stress upon this precept?

A. Yes, we are repeatedly enjoined to keep from admixture of race, and many of the laws relating to the soil are referable to this subject ...

Q. Are we commanded still to keep ourselves distinct from other nations?

A. Assuredly; we may love them as ourselves, help them in their need, and labor with them for the good of our fellow-creatures, but we must not intermarry with them, lest we should be led away from the Law.

'All-Controlling' Talmudic Ordinances

The Roman Catholic Church, it is true, discourages mixed marriages on religious grounds. But she

does not teach her children that "assuredly they are a nation," and she does try to bring all mankind within her fold. If the Jews, as one of their chief Rabbis seems to intimate, are not a nation but a church, why do they not proselytize? How came it to be said of them, by one of their own race, that they no more desire to make converts than does the House of Lords? However, supposing religion to be the bond, it is the religion of Moses. Does not the religion of Moses separate the people of Jehovah from mankind? The Eastern Jew, the Russian or Polish Jew, and the orthodox Jew everywhere, it appears, still hold by the Talmud. Mr. Hershon says that

to the orthodox Jew the Talmud is like the encircling ocean — inserts itself into and makes itself felt in every nook and corner of his existence, like an atmosphere encompasses the whole round of his being, penetrates into all centers of vitality, presses with incumbent weight upon every class irrespective of age or sex or rank, is all-inspiring, all-including, and all-controlling, covers in the regard of the illuminated the whole field of life, and with its principles affects, or ought to affect, every thought and every action of every member of the Jewish state.

The wealthy and enlightened Jew of London, Paris, or New York, perhaps, is no longer Talmudic; his religion is probably Theism combined with a vague belief in the sanctity and the superior destiny of his race; yet even he keeps himself much apart from the Gentiles, and if he remains a Jew at all he must observe the law of Moses, that is, a separatist law. In fact those who have studied the subject care-

"It seems impossible that any man should belong in heart to two nationalities and be a patriot of each. He may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail."

fully say that alike by the rich Jew of Bayswater and the middle class Jew of Highbury the safeguards of tribalism are kept as far as possible without actual

offense to Gentile society. The "Polish" Jew, alike in Poland and in Whitechapel, is still strongly Talmudic. If the Jew keeps Christian servants in his house it is to do for him what he is not permitted to do for himself on the Sabbath. By making this use of the heathen he shows that Moab is still his wash pot.

That the Jews have, as a rule, observed the laws and performed their civic duties in the countries of their sojourn, no one will deny, and it was natural that they should not take more upon them than they could help of public imposts which to them were unsweetened by patriotism. In countries where military service is part of the duties of a citizen, as it is in Germany, they have not sought to evade it, though they do not voluntarily enlist. It is understood that they behaved well as soldiers in the German army. Wealth has inclined them to conservatism, and the stories about their sinister activities in the French Revolution are fables, though Karl Marx and [Ferdinand] Lassalle were the founders of Socialism, and Judaism is believed to have contributed its quota to Nihilism in Russia. When a Jew plays revolutionist, we may generally expect to see him top the part. To top the part is natural when it is played in a spirit of exploitation. Some Jews have been noted as citizens for beneficence not confined to their own tribe. It is likely, too, that in lands where the Jew has been long established, the sentiment of home has grown strong enough to countervail that of tribal nationality in his breast, and to make removal very cruel.

Still, he is a Jew dwelling among Gentiles. He is one of the Chosen People. He has a nationality apart, with Messianic hopes, more or less definite, of its own, and vague anticipations of future ascendancy. It seems impossible that any man should belong in heart to two nationalities and be a patriot of each. He may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail.

Advantageous Alliance

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, in his book *The Land of Gilead* (p. 503), dwells more than once on the great advantages which any European government might gain over its rivals by an alliance with the Jews. He writes:

It is evident that the policy which I proposed to the Turkish government [that is, the restoration of Palestine] might be adopted with equal advantage by England or any other European Power. The nation that espoused the cause of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine, would be able to rely on their support in finan-

cial operations on the largest scale, upon the powerful influence which they wield in the press of many countries, and upon their political co-operation in those countries, which would of necessity tend to paralyze the diplomatic and even hostile action of Powers antagonistic to the one with which they were allied. Owing to the financial, political, and commercial importance to which the Jews have now attained, there is probably no one Power in Europe that would prove so valuable an ally to a nation likely to be engaged in a European war, as this wealthy, powerful, and cosmopolitan race.

Perhaps the writer of these words hardly realized the state of things which they present to our minds. We see the governments of Europe bidding against each other for the favor and support of an anti-national money power, which would itself be morally unfettered by any allegiance, would be ever ready to betray and secretly paralyze for its own objects the governments under the protection of which its members were living, and of course would be always gaining strength and predominance at the expense of a divided and subservient world. The allusion to the influence wielded by the Jews in the European press has a particularly sinister sound. In the social as in the physical sphere new diseases are continually making their appearance. One of the new social diseases of the present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the press.

A Nation Within the Nation

Such a relation as that in which Judaism has placed itself to the people of each country, forming everywhere a nation within the nation, cherishing the pride of a Chosen People, regarding those among whom it dwelt as Gentiles and unclean, shrinking from social intercourse with them, engrossing their wealth by financial skill, but not adding to it by labor, plying at the same time a trade which, however legitimate, is always unpopular and makes many victims, could not possibly fail to lead, as it has led, to mutual hatred and the troubles which ensue. Certain as may be the gradual prevalence of good over evil, it is a futile optimism which denies that there have been calamities in history. One of them has been the dispersion of the Jews.

As was said before, it is incredible that all the nations should have mistaken a power of good for a power of evil, or have been unanimous in ingratitude to a power of good.

A Fresh Invasion

None of them want to hurt the Jew or to interfere with his religious belief; what they all want is that if possible he should go to his own land. As it is, Western Europe and the western hemisphere are threatened with a fresh invasion on the largest scale by the departure of Jews from Russia. American politics are already beginning to feel the influence. A party, to catch the Jewish vote, puts into its platform a denunciation of Russia, the best friend of the American Republic in its day of trial. Jews are becoming strong in the British House of Commons and one of them the other day appealed to his compatriots to combine their forces against the political party which had been opposed to Jewish interests.

That the Jew should be de-rabbinized and denationalized, in other words that he should renounce the Talmud, the tribal parts of the Mosaic law, and circumcision, is the remedy proposed by M. Leroy-Beaulieu, a writer by no means unfavorable to Israel. There seems to be no other way of putting

"One of the new social diseases of the present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the press."

an end to a conflict which is gradually enveloping all nations. This being done, whatever gifts and graces may belong to the race of Moses, David, and Isaiah, of the writers of the Book of Job and of the Psalms, of Judas Maccabaeus and Hillel, will have free course and be glorified. If Israel has any message for humanity, as he seems to think, it will be heard. Jewish merit will no longer be viewed with jealousy and distrust as having a sinister confederation at its back; and no man need fear in the present age that in any highly civilized community he will suffer persecution or disparagement of any sort on account of his religion. But the present relation is untenable. The Jew will have either to return to Jerusalem or to forget it, give his heart to the land of his birth and mingle with humanity.

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Nuremberg: Woe to the Vanquished

Nuremberg: The Last Battle, by David Irving. London: Focal Point, 1996. Hardcover. 380 pp. Photos. Source notes. Index. (Available for sale from the IHR for \$39.95, plus shipping.)

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

This book is vintage Irving, bearing all the familiar hallmarks of the British historian's skilled treatment of World War II: original research based on primary sources, vivid writing, and consideration for the German point of view, all with a defiant thumb to the nose to "court historians" and their "politically correct" adherents.

As he has amply demonstrated in his 30 published works of history, Irving is a master of excavating nuggets of historical gold from neglected archive files and ignored private diaries and letters. Because of his reputation as a scrupulous chronicler, numerous survivors of the Second World War era who are mistrustful (often with good reason) of establishment historians have, over the decades, entrusted him with their private papers.

In writing this "intimate look at the origins and conduct" of the 1945-1946 International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Irving has relied heavily on many hitherto neglected papers and documents, above all the official and private papers of Robert H. Jackson, a US Supreme Court Justice who served as the chief American prosecutor. Throughout this book, Irving shows considerable sympathy for Jackson, whom he portrays as an essentially decent man caught up in a tragic drama. "If this story needs a hero," writes Irving, "then he is Jackson."

As we learn, Jackson was initially enthusiastic about his important appointment, hoping to be the main architect of a new framework of international law. But even before the Tribunal's opening session, he was arguing in Washington with his superiors, emphatically expressing his ethical and professional position:

If we want to shoot Germans as a matter of policy, let it be done as such, but don't hide the deed behind a court. If you are determined to execute a man in any case, there is no occasion for a



Robert H. Jackson, chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, during his closing address to the Tribunal. He is the central figure of Irving's book.

trial; the world yields no respect to courts that are merely organized to convict.

Early on, Irving relates, Jackson had a serious disagreement about his job with "Wild Bill" Donovan, head of the United States' OSS intelligence service (predecessor to the CIA):

It soon became clear that the OSS had intended all along to manage the whole trial along the lines of an NKVD [Soviet] show-trial, with Jackson little more than a professional actor. As part of the stage-management, they proposed to run a pre-trial propaganda campaign in the United States, with "increasing emphasis on the publication of atrocity stories to keep the public in the proper frame of mind." To this end the OSS devised and scripted for the education of the American public a two-reel film on war crimes, called *Crime and Punishment*; it was designed to put the case against the leading Nazis. Jackson declined to participate.

As Jackson came to more fully understand the nature of the role he was expected to play at Nuremberg, he became more troubled and dismayed. Con-

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The 21 defendants in the dock at the "International Military Tribunal," which met at Nuremberg, November 1945-October 1946.

fronted with the reality of the Nuremberg process, Irving shows, Jackson's idealism subsided, but never entirely vanished.

High-Level Decisions

As Germany's defeat became more obvious, the Allied leaders began discussing more specifically how to deal with the vanquished nation and its leadership. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin readily agreed that many prominent German leaders would be put to death, and that Germany itself would be so crippled industrially that it would never again be a major European economic and military power. "We have got to be tough with Germany," said President Roosevelt, "and I mean the German people, not just the Nazis. You either have to castrate the German people or you have got to treat them in such a manner so they can't go on reproducing people who want to continue the way they have in the past."

Because the Allies had already publicly branded the German leaders as criminals, the discussions focused on whether they should be executed straight-away or after a public trial of some sort. Roosevelt and Churchill initially favored simply shooting most of Germany's military and political leaders outright as they were found or surrendered. (This is what happened to Italy's *Duce*, Benito Mussolini, who was simply murdered, along with his entourage.) It was Stalin who, mindful of his success in destroying rivals with the help of elaborate show trials, insisted that the German leaders be put on trial. Roosevelt and Churchill fell in line. Considering the adulation accorded the Nuremberg Tribunal by many in the United States and Britain today, it is strange (Irving notes) that it might never have come into being if the Soviet dictator had not insisted on it.

Not surprisingly, Soviet officials were under no illusions about the real nature and purpose of the Nuremberg proceedings. The Tribunal's Soviet judge, Ion T. Nikitchenko, candidly summed up his government's view of the proceedings: "We are deal-

ing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has already been announced by the heads of the governments." He objected to the "fiction" that the Tribunal was objective, explaining that the judges' job was merely to decide the appropriate punishment, and the prosecutors' simply to assist the judges.

Double Standard

As Irving shows, the victorious Allies who sat in judgment at Nuremberg were guilty of many of the same actions or crimes for which they tried (and hanged) the German defendants. Indeed, the Allies very probably outdid the Germans in crimes and atrocities.

Irving cites, for example, the British-American fire bombings of Dresden, Hamburg and other German cities, killing tens of thousands of civilians at a time, the "ethnic cleansing" mass expulsion of German civilians from eastern and central Europe, of whom some two million perished or were killed, the widespread summary shootings of German prisoners, and the Allies' use of hundreds of thousands of German prisoners as slave laborers. He also cites such lesser-known incidents as the sinking by British aircraft during the war's final days of a clearly marked German Red Cross refugee ship, the *Cap Arcona*, killing 7,300 refugees, mostly women and children.

At the Yalta conference in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed to use millions of German POWs and German civilians as slave labor in Soviet Russia, France, and Belgium as partial "reparations in kind." Jackson was shocked to learn that the Soviets wanted five million of these forced laborers, and France two million. (No final accounting has ever been made of the total number deported to the USSR for this purpose, or of the number who ever returned.) President Roosevelt endorsed this policy, which was in blatant violation of international law, concerned only about the possibly negative impact on public opinion and election prospects back home.



Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin, meeting at the Yalta conference in February 1945, laid down the broad outlines of postwar Allied occupation policy for Germany.

In some cases, the Nuremberg defendants were charged with or held guilty of crimes that were actually committed by the Allies. Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the massacre, at Katyn and elsewhere, of some 11,000-15,000 Polish officers and intellectuals. At Nuremberg Soviet prosecutors presented seemingly persuasive evidence of German responsibility for this crime, and several Germans whom a Soviet court had found guilty of these killings were publicly hanged in Leningrad. It was only decades later that Soviet officials formally acknowledged that the massacre had been carried out by the Soviet secret police, acting on Stalin's orders.

Predictably, the Allies grandly exploited the Tribunal for propaganda purposes. As Irving relates, the Americans forced the defendants to watch US-made "documentary" films of German atrocities that deceitfully included scenes of corpses filmed in the wake of Allied air raids on German cities and factories. Some of the German viewers spotted the deception, and one former Messerschmitt worker said he even recognized himself in the film.

Unprecedented Legal Procedures

In these unprecedented proceedings, the Allies discarded basic principles of Western jurisprudence, perhaps most notably the well-established principle that in the absence of a law there can be neither crime nor punishment — *nullum crimen sine lege, nulla poena sine lege*. Instead, the Tribunal established new laws for the occasion, which were applied not only retroactively, but uniquely and exclusively to the German defendants. The Allies thus refused to consider the German defense argument of *tu quoque* or "you too" — that is, punishing the German defendants for actions that the Allies

themselves also carried out.

The Tribunal rejected defendants' pleas of obeying higher orders, even though, as Irving points out, precisely this had been affirmed as a valid defense under both British and American military law. Article 347 of the American *Rules of Land Warfare*, for example, specifically declares: "Members of the armed forces are not punished for these crimes, provided they were committed on the orders or with the permission of their governments or commanders."

The Tribunal's procedures, which were a blend of Allied procedures, differed markedly from German practice. In Germany, as in most of continental Europe, the court's primary objective is to ascertain the truth. However, the Nuremberg Tribunal adopted a version of the American confrontational system, in which each side introduces only the evidence that benefits its own case. But because the Allies had confiscated all pertinent German documents and records, and refused access to them by the defense attorneys, the prosecution had a tremendous advantage over the German defendants.

'Semitism Gone Wild'

With President Roosevelt's approval, high-ranking Washington officials of Jewish origin played a major role in setting America's policy on the postwar occupation of Germany, including the Nuremberg Tribunal. These included Isadore Lubin, Samuel Rosenman, Murray Bernays, and Herbert Wechsler. Above all, the malevolent role played by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., US Treasury Secretary and Roosevelt's trusted adviser, insured that the spirit of the Talmud and the Old Testament would prevail.

As Irving shows, at least some Allied figures involved with the Nuremberg proceedings were honorable men who were dismayed by the heavy spirit of revenge. Some American and British officials were repelled by the general tenor of American and Soviet occupation policy toward defeated Germany. No less a figure than US Secretary of War Henry Stimson expressed concern:

I found around me, particularly in Morgenthau, a very bitter atmosphere of personal resentment against the entire German people without regard to individual guilt, and I am very much afraid that it will result in our taking mass vengeance on the part of our people ...

On another occasion Stimson said:

I cannot believe that he [Roosevelt] will follow Morgenthau's views. If he does, it will certainly be a disaster... The President appoints a committee and then goes off to Quebec with the man [Morgenthau] who really represents the minority and is so biased by his Semitic grievances that he is really a very dangerous advisor ...



The Nuremberg Tribunal judges (left to right): Henri Donnedieu de Vabres (France), Francis Biddle (USA), Geoffrey Lawrence (Britain), and I.T. Nikitchenko (Soviet Union).

On still another occasion, Stimson confided: "I have yet to meet a man who is not horrified with the 'Carthaginian' attitude of the Treasury [Morgenthau]. It is Semitism gone wild for vengeance..." Britain's Anthony Eden had much the same opinion of Morgenthau and his Jewish circle: "These ex-Germans seem to wish to wash away their ancestry in a bath of hate."

In addition, Irving relates, officials of "several powerful Jewish organizations" intervened in the Nuremberg process. A few days before leaving for London in June 1945, Robert Jackson met in New York with Judge Nathan Perlman, Dr. Jacob Robinson, and Dr. Alexander Kohanski, who made quite clear their intention to play an important role in running the trial. (See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 170-171.)

It was at this meeting that Robinson, an official of the World Jewish Congress, told Jackson that six million Jews had been lost during the war, and that he had arrived at this figure "by extrapolation." As Irving tartly comments, "in other words his figure was somewhere between a hopeful estimate and an educated guess."

As it happens, this same six million figure, Irving notes, had been cited 26 years earlier in a leading Jewish-American periodical. In a 1919 essay by a former Governor of New York state, readers were told that "six million" Jews "are dying" in a "threatened holocaust of human life" as victims of "the awful tyranny of war and a bigoted lust for Jewish blood." (Facsimile in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, p. 31.)

Grave Misgivings

Responsible Allied military leaders disapproved of the postwar trials, especially of their counterparts in the German armed forces. Many American combat officers ardently opposed the prosecution of

soldiers for obeying harsh orders issued by politicians. (See: H.K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal* [IHR, 1983].)

In occupied Germany, American officers disliked having to enforce the vengeful Morgenthau directive 1067, and condemned as un-American the "so-called Gestapo methods used in handling Germans" that were being employed by (Jewish) refugees who had hurriedly been drafted into the US Army.

A few high-ranking British and American officers even spoke out on behalf of their German counterparts. For example, US Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz issued a statement on behalf of Nuremberg defendant Admiral Karl Dönitz, who headed Germany's wartime U-boat fleet, confirming that American submarines had operated in the Pacific just as German submarines had operated under Dönitz' command in the Atlantic.

Francis Biddle, the Tribunal's senior American judge, was moved to conclude that "the Germans fought a much cleaner war at sea than we did." To his credit, Biddle also refused, in an important dissenting opinion, to sanction the handing over of Russian prisoners to the Soviets. (Regrettably, though, both British and American forces did so anyway in such transfers as the infamous "Operation Keelhaul.")

Harlan F. Stone, Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, was outspoken in his criticism of the proceedings. While he admitted that he would not be disturbed if the victors put the vanquished to the sword as was customary in days of old, Stone said he was disturbed to have the action dressed up in "the habiliments of common law."

Fraudulent and Suppressed Evidence

As Irving shows, some of the evidence presented by the Allies to the Tribunal was fraudulent. This includes the widely-quoted report of a speech by



Hitler confers with General Alfred Jodl during a wartime military briefing. Observing the discussion is Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, Chief of the Armed Forces High Command. Jodl and Keitel were sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and hanged on October 16, 1946. Jodl was later posthumously exonerated by a German court, which cited the view of the Tribunal's French judge that his conviction had been unjustified.

Hitler to his generals on August 22, 1939, Nuremberg document 003-L, which Irving refers to as a "now notorious forgery."

No testimony had a more profound impact on everyone, including the defendants, than the "confession" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. As Irving shows, this widely-quoted statement, which was extracted after "three days of torture" by British military men, "contained numerous perhaps deliberate errors." Höss had attempted to smuggle out of prison a letter to his wife in which he apologized for "confessing" to horrible atrocities at Auschwitz, relating that he had been tortured into making spurious admissions. The letter was seized by prison officials and never delivered, and is now in private hands in the United States.

The "protocol" of the January 1942 Wannsee conference, Irving writes, has been given "a wholly undeserved reputation as a key document in the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem." As he points out, it "contains no explicit reference to the killing of Jews," and Irving casts doubt on its authenticity.

A key German document on this matter, Irving notes, was suppressed for decades. This is a spring 1942 memorandum by Justice Ministry *Staatssekretär* Franz Schlegelberger recording that Dr. Hans Lammers, chief of the Reich chancellery, had informed him that Hitler had "repeatedly" ordered the solution of the Jewish problem "postponed until after the war."

On the basis of bogus evidence, Irving relates, a number of familiar Holocaust horrors were supposedly proven at Nuremberg, including gassings at Dachau, steaming of Jews at Treblinka, and manufacturing of soap from human bodies.

As Irving reports, important documentary evidence, including the private papers and diaries of Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring, were looted by Allied troops and have disappeared.

Unjust Selection Standards

The Allies were never able to decide just who should be put on trial, or on what basis. As Irving repeatedly points out, at least several of the defendants should not have been in the dock at all. This was particularly true of the military men — Göring, Jodl, Keitel, Dönitz and Raeder. As prisoners of war, they were supposedly protected by the provisions of the Geneva Convention, which prohibited such trials. To get around this awkward legalism, the Tribunal arranged for these defendants to be technically "discharged" from the (no longer existing) German armed forces so they could "legally" be put on trial. After being "discharged," their military ranks were obliterated. Even their medals (from both world wars) were taken from them and, after removing any precious stones or metals, destroyed.

General Alfred Jodl, whom nearly everyone rec-

ognized as an honorable professional soldier, had not even met Hitler until 1939. (Jackson "privately felt the greatest respect for Jodl," Irving relates.) In fact, Jodl was later posthumously exonerated by a German court, which cited the view of the Tribunal's French judge, Henri Donnedieu de Vabres, that Jodl's conviction had been without merit and a miscarriage of justice.

On what legitimate grounds could Rudolf Hess, Irving queries, be accused of war crimes? He played no role in determining Germany's war aims or occupation policies. Indeed, in carrying out his ill-fated "peace flight" to Britain in May 1941, he was "the only man to have undertaken, at risk to his own life, a step to end the madness of war." All the same, the Allied judges sentenced this humane and peace-loving man to life imprisonment. (He died, under mysterious circumstances by strangulation, in Berlin's Spandau prison in 1987. His son, Wolf Hess, says he was murdered. See: "The Life and Death of My Father Rudolf Hess," and "The Legacy of Rudolf Hess," both in the Jan.-Feb. 1993 *Journal*.)

Hans Fritzsche, a German propaganda ministry department chief and wartime radio commentator, was on trial only as a stand-in for Goebbels, and because he happened to be the most important German prisoner in Soviet hands.

Göring's Spirited Defense

Hermann Göring, once the second most powerful man in Germany, put up the most spirited and memorable defense. This was especially apparent in a remarkable back and forth confrontation over several days with Robert Jackson. "Everything had gone pretty well with the trial until Göring took the witness stand," the American prosecutor himself privately remarked.

Norman Birkett, one of the British judges, commented that Göring was dominating the entire proceedings, and that no one seemed to have been quite prepared for the former *Reichsmarschall*'s immense ability and knowledge, or for his mastery of the cap-



Standing among the other Nuremberg defendants, Alfred Jodl delivers his final plea to the Tribunal. "Later historians will arrive at a just and objective verdict" concerning the wartime conduct of the German armed forces, he said. Even US prosecutor Jackson respected Jodl as an honorable professional soldier.

tured documents. Of Göring's bravura performance, Birkett wrote:

The cross examination had not proceeded more than ten minutes before it was seen that he was the complete master of Mr. Justice Jackson. Suave, shrewd, adroit, capable, resourceful, he quickly saw the elements of the situation, and as his confidence grew, his mastery became more apparent... For almost two days he held the stage without interruption of any kind.

Allied journalists were speechless, having believed their own stories that Göring was a dope fiend, a physical wreck and a neurotic.

When at one point an American official murmured something to Göring about Germany's aggressive wars of conquest, the *Reichsmarschall* shot back:

Don't make me laugh. America, England and Russia have all done the same thing to promote their own national aspirations, but when Germany does it becomes a crime — because we lost.

Even after the judges had sentenced him to death, Göring delivered a final embarrassing slap to the Tribunal by taking his own life, denying the victors the pleasure of hanging him.



Hermann Göring astonished everyone with the mastery and verve he showed at Nuremberg in defending himself and the Third Reich's record.

Streicher's Anti-Jewish Fervor

At the other end of the sophistication scale, defendant Julius Streicher, notorious for his anti-Jewish weekly, *Der Stürmer*, was certain from the outset that the trial was a "triumph of world Jewry," and that "the Jews will make sure enough that we hang." As Irving explains, Streicher was convinced

that "the Jews" were making it their objective to establish final supremacy over the gentile races by ramming multiculturalism and multiracism down their throats. He had campaigned, in response, for the destruction of the Jews, and that no doubt was why he now found himself here.

When Streicher tried to protest from the witness stand the beatings he had received at the hands of his American captors, Jackson had the remarks stricken from the official record.

The Tribunal's proceedings confirmed everything he had ever believed or taught about the Jews. In Streicher's view:

In this trial there is no question of according to the defendant a blind and impartial justice; the trial has been set the task of giving to an injustice a veneer of legality by cloaking it in the language of the law.

Mistreatment

Irving details the maltreatment and tortures inflicted on the defendants by their American and British captors, including a near-starvation diet imposed during the Tribunal's proceedings. The defendants' wives were also arrested and thrown into prison — and separated from their children, who were put in orphanages.

Even worse was the treatment of defendants in the American-run post-Nuremberg trials. Thus, the US Army war crimes trials at Dachau "were a mockery of the law," writes Irving, at which "defendants and witnesses there were savagely beaten or intimidated to make them sign false confessions."

(See also Joseph Halow's *Innocent at Dachau*, available from the IHR for \$16.50, postpaid.)

Tests conducted by an American psychologist showed that the Nuremberg defendants were of above average intelligence. Several had IQ levels in the genius range: Schacht 143, Seyss-Inquart 141, Göring 141, and Dönitz 138. (A single exception was Streicher, whose 106 IQ was in the normal range.)

To help illustrate the defendants' character and personalities, Irving quotes from letters written by them to their loved ones from their prison cells. For example, Irving cites a passage from a letter Jodl wrote to his wife two days before his hanging:

It is already late and the lights are soon going out. When our friends come round to see you on the evening after my death, that shall be my funeral parade. On a gun-carriage rests my coffin and all the German soldiers are marching with me — with those who have died in battle out in front and the still living bringing up the rear.

Each of the condemned went to the gallows calmly, bravely, and with as much dignity as possible under the circumstances. Their last words were expressions of love for Germany and for international reconciliation. Because the Nuremberg hangman botched his grim job, the Tribunal's sentence of death by hanging amounted, in practice, to strangulation.

In one of the several final notes penned just before his death, Göring wrote:

To the Allied Control Council:

I would have let you shoot me without further ado! But it is not possible to hang the German Reichsmarschall! I cannot permit this, for Germany's sake. Besides I have no moral obligation to submit to the justice of my enemies. I have therefore chosen the manner of death of the great Hannibal...

It was clear from the outset that a death sentence would be pronounced against me, as I

Letters

Counted In

It was very refreshing to find you on the Internet World Wide Web. Thanks for clarifying many issues. I've passed around several of your items by fax, and have posted others on the Net. Just wanted to let you know how much you are appreciated. Count me in!

F. T.
Tampa, Florida

Placing Books in Libraries

A good way to get the word out to the public is to donate revisionist books to local public libraries. Recently I placed David Irving's book *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* in my public library. If I can do it, anyone can.

In my experience, the main argument offered by library purchasing departments for deciding not to purchase "non-kosher" books is a supposed lack of interest among the public. This objection can be offset if local patrons, through coordinated action, make repeated requests for a specific title.

Keep up the good work.

P. R.
West Virginia

Bias In History

Some time ago I began to take a close look at the Second World War, Third Reich Germany and the "Holocaust." I began my study, I now know, in a state of ignorance, but I persisted in my effort to determine the facts.

After considerable thought and study, I now believe that much of what is written about that era is purposefully distorted or simply not true. I have also come to regard the Anti-Defamation League and similar Jewish organizations as purveyors of deceitful and self-serving propaganda.

However, I am struck that the

Journal of Historical Review is also biased, although to a much lesser degree, in that its articles and reviews often present facts in such a way as to portray Jews and Jewish activities in a critical or at least unfriendly way. Moreover, I'd like the *Journal* to more pointedly affirm that Hitler was, after all, a disaster for Germany.

I wish that revisionism would carry a connotation of greater neutrality. Unfortunately it does not, and the perception that revisionism is anti-Jewish is a reality that revisionists should acknowledge and combat.

I think it is detrimental for any historical scholar to permit racial, ethnic or cultural bias to influence how he presents history. To do so distorts our understanding of the past.

The truth must be allowed to plead for itself, without advocacy or partisanship. While this may weaken the short-term utility of history for one purpose or another, it serves the long-term good of all. History, I believe, should be written for those not yet born.

R. G.
Wilmington, N. Carolina

Blind Hatred

Blind justice is said to be good, and it is. But blind hatred is both evil and destructive. I am referring to Richard Phillips' letter in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*, in which he criticizes the feature articles by Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik [May-June 1997 issue] criticizing President Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Blind hatred seems to have so clouded Mr. Phillips' vision that he missed the key point of the articles: that the Japanese had offered to surrender at least as early as January 1945, asking only that their emperor not be

humiliated or violated — a condition that the Americans ultimately accepted anyway.

Mr. Phillips oddly remarks: "I was reading newspapers in 1945 and they [Weber and Pavlik] were not." That may be, but I was there. In 1945 I was serving in the Pacific on an AKA, an attack cargo ship, which carried and landed Marines from Guadalcanal to Iwo Jima. In late July we were on our way to a staging area to prepare to invade Japan. So, if anyone should have rejoiced at the dropping of the "big ones," it was I!

That was then; this is now. Many years ago I learned the truth, which is available to anyone who seeks after it.

I saw the carnage at Iwo Jima. Had Japan's offer to surrender been accepted in January 1945, how many American lives would have been saved at Iwo Jima, and elsewhere?

It must be terrible to live for more than 50 years with such "never forgive, never forget" hatred. If the general public ever fully understands the truth about Pearl Harbor (which is doubtful), it would be better to direct the hatred expressed by Mr. Phillips against the politicians who start and prolong unnecessary wars for their own aggrandizement.

Dick Meyer
Los Angeles, Calif.

Constraints of Morality and Justice

I was astonished to see the letter by Mr. Richard Phillips in the Sept.-Oct. *Journal* defending the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Mr. Phillips appears to be a newcomer to revisionist studies; perhaps he thinks that the denunciation of that war crime was something thought up by Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik in a fit of contrariness. In fact, condemnation of Truman's mass

atrocities has been a standard and important part of American revisionism since August 1945 — and with good reason.

The deliberate killing of civilians is the classic example of a war crime, in morality and international law. It is nothing but murder. It cannot be excused by the "hate" Mr. Phillips boasts of feeling toward the "Japs," nor even by the hate he says was virtually universal among the American people. On that basis, the Red Army would have been justified in its orgy of rape and murder in Germany in 1945. Phillips writes that "the Japs got exactly what they deserved." How is it possible that tens of thousands of Japanese women, children, and old people incinerated in the two cities — as well as those in Tokyo and other cities before that — "deserved" to be murdered? Mr. Phillips also writes that the American people would not have tolerated anything less than unconditional surrender. But that, of course, is what they did tolerate — in the end, the Japanese were allowed to keep their dynasty and even their Emperor, nor was Hirohito put on trial and executed, as his subjects had feared. The verbal formula of "unconditional surrender" — I wonder if it had anything to do with the fanatical Japanese resistance at Iwo Jima and Okinawa? — did its damage, but the final reality was a conditional surrender.

Mr. Phillips writes from the viewpoint of the US government, of the killers, and not of the Japanese civilians, the victims. Suppose the Japanese had not surrendered when they did? Would Mr. Phillips' "hate" have demanded further atomic bombings of Japan until ... when? Until there were no Japanese left? As for what we should have told the families of American servicemen if we hadn't dropped the bombs and an invasion would have been necessary to impose unconditional surrender — how about this: blame the men in Wash-

ton who got us into the war in the first place. (If Mr. Phillips thinks that the attack on Pearl Harbor settles the question of responsibility for the war, then he does indeed have much to learn about revisionism.)

The men in charge of the US government did not possess then, nor do they possess now (for example, in the murderous blockade of Iraq), the right to break the rules whenever it suits their convenience. Their political aims and goals, whatever they may be, must not exceed the constraints of morality and justice.

How should the war have ended? Well, how do wars end? Usually, through negotiations. If this meant leaving a large part of the Japanese empire intact — Korea, Taiwan and even Manchuria — then that might very well have prevented the Communist takeover of China, and the subsequent 30 or 40 million deaths from Maoist policies.

What will we see next in the *Journal's* letters column — a defense of the incarceration of the Japanese-American perhaps? Or of the destruction of Dresden?

S. B.
Buffalo, New York

Upholding Principle

Some readers might regard your eye-opening feature articles on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki [May-June 1997 *Journal*] as "leftist" or even "anti-American." But it's worth recalling that many prominent "conservatives" once similarly regarded the bombings as unnecessary and disgraceful.

Nearly 40 years ago, the great American historian Harry Elmer Barnes presented this view in an essay, "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," that appeared as the major feature article in William Buckley's "conservative" magazine, *National Review*, May 10, 1958. In that article Barnes wrote: "Well-informed persons have known for years that the bombing of these Japanese cities was not needed to bring the war to

a speedy end ... It has been difficult, however, to get this momentous fact before the American public in any effective manner, even though the relevant information has been published in prominent American newspapers and periodicals ..."

Today the "blackout" of revisionism is vastly more effective, particularly because nearly all of America's supposedly "conservative" leaders and periodicals, including *National Review*, have abandoned their original principles to embrace the "warfare-welfare" state legacy of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Given this elemental shift in America's intellectual climate over the last 40 years, it is all the more important that the Institute and the *Journal of Historical Review* continue faithfully to uphold the honorable tradition of principled, humane and "conservative" historical scholarship.

May Barnes' spirit continue to inspire and guide you in the years to come!

E. Svedlund
Seattle

Faith Restoring

Future generations will applaud your efforts. Without being melodramatic, *The Journal of Historical Review* restores my faith that the truth will ultimately prevail — hopefully in my lifetime. Well, I never thought I'd live to see the collapse of that other great fraud, Communism.

By the way, I hope you saw the recent extraordinary acknowledgment by Steven A. Ludsin, who served as a member of the Advisory Board of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. "The creation of Israel was made possible by the world's guilt over the Holocaust," he wrote (*New York Times*, letters, July 25, 1997).

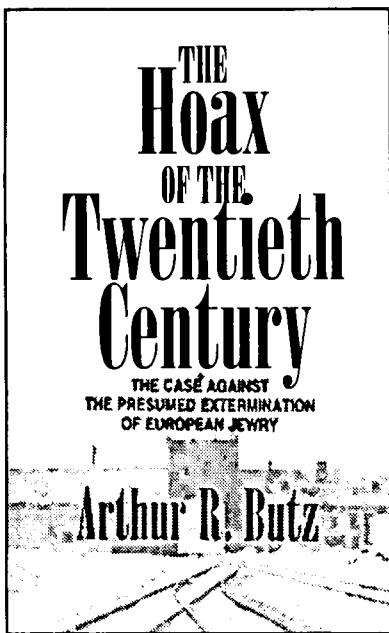
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— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

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Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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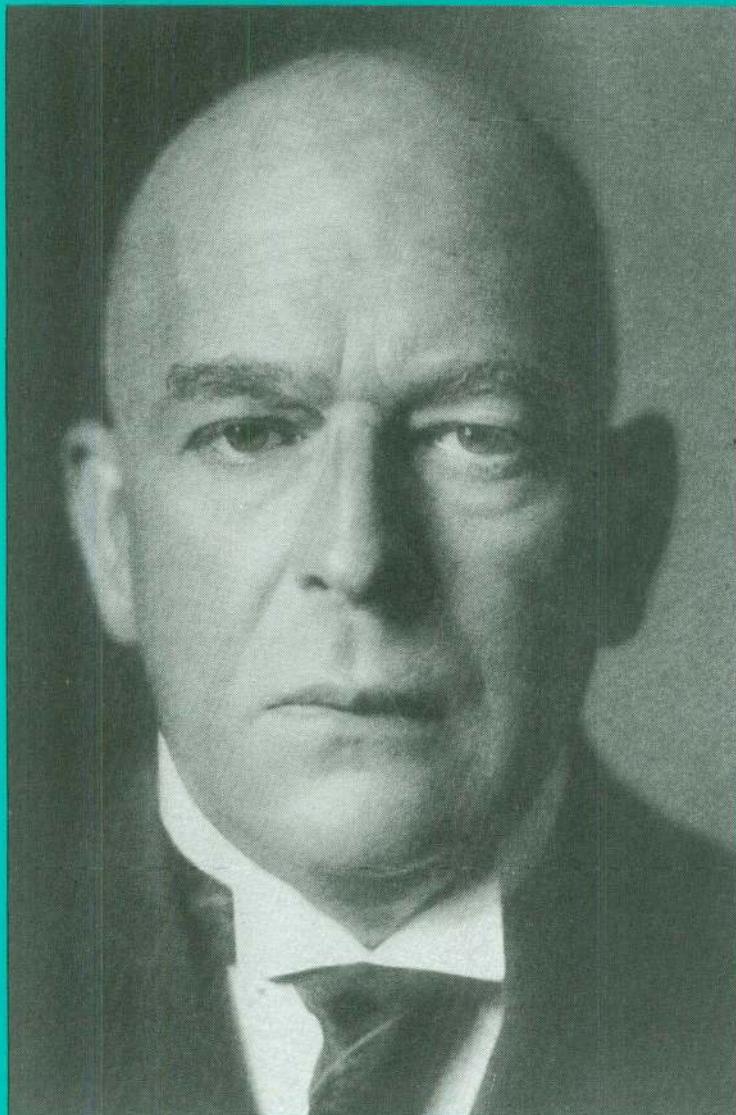
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On the cover: Oswald Spengler in 1935.

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Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to his Life and Ideas

KEITH STIMELY

Oswald Spengler was born in Blankenburg (Harz) in central Germany in 1880, the eldest of four children, and the only boy. His mother's side of the family was quite artistically bent. His father, who had originally been a mining technician and came from a long line of mineworkers, was an official in the German postal bureaucracy, and he provided his family with a simple but comfortable middle class home.

The young Oswald never enjoyed the best of health, and suffered from migraine headaches that were to plague him all his life. He also had an anxiety complex, though he was not without grandiose thoughts — which because of his frail constitution had to be acted out in daydreams only.

When he was ten the family moved to the university city of Halle. Here Spengler received a classical *Gymnasium* education, studying Greek, Latin, mathematics and natural sciences. Here too he developed his strong affinity for the arts — especially poetry, drama, and music. He tried his hand at some youthful artistic creations of his own, a few of which have survived — they are indicative of a tremendous enthusiasm but not much else. At this time also he came under the influence of Goethe and Nietzsche, two figures whose importance to Spengler the youth and the man cannot be overestimated.

After his father's death in 1901, Spengler at 21 entered the University of Munich. In accordance

with German student-custom of the time, after a year he proceeded to other universities, first Berlin and then Halle. His main courses of study were in the classical cultures, mathematics, and the physical sciences. His university education was financed in large part by a legacy from a deceased aunt.

His doctoral dissertation at Halle was on Heraclitus, the "dark philosopher" of ancient Greece whose most memorable line was "War is the Father of all things." He failed to pass his first examination because of "insufficient references" — a characteristic of all his later writings that some critics took a great delight in pointing out. However, he passed a second examination in 1904, and then set to writing the secondary dissertation necessary to qualify as a high school teacher. This became *The Development of the Organ of Sight in the Higher Realms of the Animal Kingdom*. It was approved, and Spengler received his teaching certificate.

His first post was at a school in Saarbrücken. Then he moved to Düsseldorf and, finally, Hamburg. He taught mathematics, physical sciences, history, and German literature, and by all accounts was a good and conscientious instructor. But his heart was not really in it, and when in 1911 the opportunity presented itself for him to "go his own way" (his mother had died and left him an inheritance that guaranteed him a measure of financial independence), he took it, and left the teaching profession for good.

Historical Explanation of Current Trends

He settled in Munich, there to live the life of an independent scholar/philosopher. He began the writing of a book of observations on contemporary politics whose idea had preoccupied him for some time. Originally to be titled *Conservative and Liberal*, it was planned as an exposition and explanation of the current trends in Europe — an accelerating arms race, Entente "encirclement" of Germany, a succession of international crises, increasing polarity of the nations — and where they were leading. However in late 1911 he was suddenly struck by the notion that the events of the day could only be interpreted in "global" and "total-cultural"

Keith Stimely was born on April 9, 1957, in Connecticut, but grew up and was educated on the West coast. He studied at San Jose State University and the University of Oregon, from where he graduated in 1980 with a bachelor's degree in history. (This essay was written in December 1978 for a University of Oregon history class.) Stimely then joined the US Army, serving as a reserve officer. His interest in revisionist history began in high school, and in 1980 he spoke at the second IHR Conference (Pomona College). He joined this *Journal*'s editorial staff in June 1982, and served as its chief editor from February 1983 until February 1985. He compiled the *1981 Revisionist Bibliography* (no longer in print), and was a gifted artist and pianist. He died in Portland, Oregon, on December 19, 1992.

terms. He saw Europe as marching off to suicide, a first step toward the final demise of European culture in the world and in history.

The Great War of 1914-1918 only confirmed in his mind the validity of a thesis already developed. His planned work kept increasing in scope far, far beyond the original bounds.

Spengler had tied up most of his money in foreign investments, but the war had largely invalidated them, and he was forced to live out the war years in conditions of genuine poverty. Nevertheless he kept at his work, often writing by candle-light, and in 1917 was ready to publish. He encountered great difficulty in finding a publisher, partly because of the nature of the work, partly because of the chaotic conditions prevailing at the time. However in the summer of 1918, coincident with the German collapse, finally appeared the first volume of *The Decline of the West*, subtitled *Form and Actuality*.

Publishing Success

To no little surprise on the part of both Spengler and his publisher, the book was an immediate and unprecedented success. It offered a rational explanation for the great European disaster, explaining it as part of an inevitable world-historic process. German readers especially took it to heart, but the work soon proved popular throughout Europe and was quickly translated into other languages. Nineteen-nineteen was "Spengler's year," and his name was on many tongues.

Professional historians, however, took great umbrage at this pretentious work by an amateur (Spengler was not a trained historian), and their criticisms — particularly of numerous errors of fact and the unique and unapologetic "non-scientific" approach of the author — filled many pages. It is easier now than it was then to dispose of this line of rejection-criticism. Anyway, with regard to the validity of his postulate of rapid Western decline, the contemporary Spenglerian need only say to these critics: Look about you. What do you see?

In 1922 Spengler issued a revised edition of the first volume containing minor corrections and revisions, and the year after saw the appearance of the second volume, subtitled *Perspectives of World History*. He thereafter remained satisfied with the work, and all his later writings and pronouncements are only enlargements upon the theme he laid out *Decline*.

A Direct Approach

The basic idea and essential components of *The Decline of the West* are not difficult to understand or delineate. (In fact, it is the work's very simplicity that was too much for his professional critics.) First,



Oswald Spengler in 1935, a year before his death. His work was praised by American scholar Revilo Oliver as "the great intellectual achievement of our century."

though, a proper understanding requires a recognition of Spengler's special approach to history. He himself called it the "physiognomic" approach — looking things directly in the face or heart, intuitively, rather than strictly scientifically. Too often the real meaning of things is obscured by a mask of scientific-mechanistic "facts." Hence the blindness of the professional "scientist-type" historians, who in a grand lack of imagination see only the visible.

Utilizing his physiognomic approach, Spengler was confident of his ability to decipher the riddle of History — even, as he states in *Decline*'s very first sentence, to predetermine history.

The following are his basic postulates:

1. The "linear" view of history must be rejected,

in favor of the cyclical. Heretofore history, especially Western history, had been viewed as a "linear" progression from lower to higher, like rungs on a ladder — an unlimited evolution upward. Western history is thus viewed as developing progressively: Greek → Roman → Medieval → Renaissance → Modern, or, Ancient → Medieval → Modern. This concept, Spengler insisted, is only a product of Western man's ego — as if everything in the past pointed to him, existed so that he might exist as a yet-more perfected form.

This "incredibly jejune and *meaningless* scheme" can at last be replaced by one now discernible from the vantage-point of years and a greater and more fundamental knowledge of the past: the notion of History as moving in definite, observable, and — except in minor ways — unrelated cycles.

'High Cultures'

2. The cyclical movements of history are not those of mere nations, states, races, or events, but of High Cultures. Recorded history gives us eight such "high cultures": the Indian, the Babylonian, the

Egyptian, the Chinese, the Mexican (Mayan-Aztec), the Arabian (or "Magian"), the Classical (Greece and Rome), and the European-Western.

Each High Culture has as a distinguishing feature a "prime symbol." The Egyptian symbol, for example, was the "Way" or "Path," which can be seen in the ancient Egyptians' preoccupation

— in religion, art, and architecture (the pyramids) — with the sequential passages of the soul. The prime symbol of the Classical culture was the "point-present" concern, that is, the fascination with the nearby, the small, the "space" of immediate and logical visibility; note here Euclidean geometry, the two-dimensional style of Classical painting and relief-sculpture (you will never see a vanishing point in the background, that is, where there is a background at all), and especially: the lack of facial expression of Grecian busts and statues, signifying nothing behind or beyond the outward.

The prime symbol of Western culture is the "Faustian Soul" (from the tale of Doctor Faustus), symbolizing the upward reaching for nothing less than the "Infinite." This is basically a *tragic* symbol,



Spengler at about age 30

for it reaches for what even the reacher knows is unreachable. It is exemplified, for instance, by Gothic architecture (especially the interiors of Gothic cathedrals, with their vertical lines and seeming "ceilinglessness").

The "prime symbol" effects *everything* in the Culture, manifesting itself in art, science, technics and politics. Each Culture's symbol-soul expresses itself especially in its art, and each Culture has an art form that is most representative of its own symbol. In the Classical, they were sculpture and drama. In Western culture, after architecture in the Gothic era, the great representative form was music — actually the pluperfect expression of the Faustian soul, transcending as it does the limits of sight for the "limitless" world of sound.

'Organic' Development

3. High Cultures are "living" things — *organic* in nature — and must pass through the stages of birth-development-fulfillment-decay-death. Hence a "morphology" of history. All previous cultures have passed through these distinct stages, and Western culture can be no exception. In fact, its present stage in the organic development-process can be pinpointed.

The high-water mark of a High Culture is its phase of fulfillment — called the "culture" phase. The beginning of decline and decay in a Culture is the transition point between its "culture" phase and the "civilization" phase that inevitably follows.

The "civilization" phase witnesses drastic social upheavals, mass movements of peoples, continual wars and constant crises. All this takes place along with the growth of the great "megalopolis" — huge urban and suburban centers that sap the surrounding countrysides of their vitality, intellect, strength, and soul. The inhabitants of these urban conglomerations — now the bulk of the populace — are a rootless, soulless, godless, and materialistic mass, who love nothing more than their *panem et circenses*. From these come the subhuman "fellahs" — fitting participants in the dying-out of a culture.

With the civilization phase comes the rule of Money and its twin tools, Democracy and the Press. Money rules over the chaos, and only Money profits by it. But the true bearers of the culture — the men whose souls are still one with the culture-soul — are disgusted and repelled by the Money-power and its fellahs, and act to break it, as they are compelled to do so — and as the mass culture-soul compels finally the end of the dictatorship of money. Thus the civilization phase concludes with the Age of Caesarism, in which great power come into the hands of great men, helped in this by the chaos of late Money-rule. The advent of the Caesars marks the return of Authority and Duty, of Honor and "Blood,"

and the end of democracy.

With this arrives the "imperialistic" stage of civilization, in which the Caesars with their bands of followers battle each other for control of the earth. The great masses are uncomprehending and uncaring; the megalopoli slowly depopulate, and the masses gradually "return to the land," to busy themselves there with the same soil-tasks as their ancestors centuries before. The turmoil of events goes on above their heads. Now, amidst all the chaos of the times, there comes a "second religiosity"; a longing return to the old symbols of the faith of the culture. Fortified thus, the masses in a kind of resigned contentment bury their souls and their efforts into the soil from which they and their culture sprang, and against this background the dying of the Culture and the civilization it created is played out.

Predictable Life Cycles

Every Culture's life-span can be seen to last about a thousand years: The Classical existed from 900 BC to 100 AD; the Arabian (Hebraic-semitic Christian-Islamic) from 100 BC to 900 AD; the Western from 1000 AD to 2000 AD. However, this span is the ideal, in the sense that a man's ideal life-span is 70 years, though he may never reach that age, or may live well beyond it. The death of a Culture may in fact be played out over hundreds of years, or it may occur instantaneously because of outer forces — as in the sudden end of the Mexican Culture.

Also, though every culture has its unique Soul and is in essence a special and separate entity, the development of the life cycle is paralleled in all of them: For each phase of the cycle in a given Culture, and for all great events affecting its course, there is a counterpart in the history of every other culture. Thus, Napoleon, who ushered in the civilization phase of the Western, finds his counterpart in Alexander of Macedon, who did the same for the Classical. Hence the "contemporaneity" of all high cultures.

In barest outline these are the essential components of Spengler's theory of historical Culture-cycles. In a few sentences it might be summed up:

Human history is the cyclical record of the rise and fall of unrelated High Cultures. These Cultures are in reality super life-forms, that is, they are organic in nature, and like all organisms must pass through the phases of birth-life-death. Though separate entities in themselves, all High Cultures experience parallel development, and events and phases in any one find their corresponding events and phases in the others. It is possible from the vantage point of the twentieth century to glean from the

past the meaning of cyclic history, and thus to predict the decline and fall of the West.

Needless to say, such a theory — though somewhat heralded in the work of Giambattista Vico and the 19th-century Russian Nikolai Danilevsky, as well as in Nietzsche — was destined to shake the foundations of the intellectual and semi-intellectual world. It did so in short order, partly owing to its felicitous timing, and partly to the brilliance (though not unflawed) with which Spengler presented it.

Polemic Style

There are easier books to read than *Decline* — there are also harder — but a big reason for its unprecedented (for such a work) popular success was the same reason for its by-and-large dismissal by the learned critics: its style. Scorning the type of "learnedness" that demanded only cautionary and judicious statements — every one backed by a footnote — Spengler gave freewheeling vent to his opinions and judgments. Many passages are in the style of a polemic, from which no disagreement can be brooked.

To be sure, the two volumes of *Decline*, no matter the opinionated style and unconventional methodology, are essentially a comprehensive justification of the ideas presented, drawn from the histories of the different High Cultures. He used the comparative method which, of course, is appropriate if indeed all the phases of a High Culture are contemporaneous with those of any other. No one man could possibly have an equally comprehensive knowledge of all the Cultures surveyed, hence Spengler's treatment is uneven, and he spends relatively little time on the Mexican, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese — concentrating on the Arabian, Classical, and Western, especially these last two. The most valuable portion of the work, as even his critics acknowledge, is his comparative delineation of the parallel developments of the Classical and Western cultures.

Spengler's vast knowledge of the arts allowed him to place learned emphasis on their importance to the symbolism and inner meaning of a Culture, and the passages on art forms are generally regarded as being among the more thought-provoking. Also eyebrow-raising is a chapter (the very first, in fact, after the Introduction) on "The Meaning of Numbers," in which he asserted that even mathematics — supposedly the one certain "universal" field of knowledge — has a different meaning in different cultures: numbers are relative to the people who use them.

"Truth" is likewise relative, and Spengler conceded that what was true for him might not be true for another — even another wholly of the same cul-



Keith Stimely and Robert Faurisson at the Fifth IHR Conference (1983)

ture and era. Thus Spengler's greatest breakthrough may perhaps be his postulation of the non-universality of things, the "differentness" or distinctiveness of different people and cultures (despite their fated common end) — an idea that is beginning to take hold in the modern West, which started this century supremely confident of the wisdom and possibility of making the world over in its image.

Age of Caesars

But it was his placing of the current West into his historical scheme that aroused the most interest and the most controversy. Spengler, as the title of his work suggests, saw the West as doomed to the same eventual extinction that all the other High Cultures had faced. The West, he said, was now in the middle of its "civilization" phase, which had begun, roughly, with Napoleon. The coming of the Caesars (of which Napoleon was only a foreshadowing) was perhaps only decades away. Yet Spengler did not counsel any kind of sighing resignation to fate, or blithe acceptance of coming defeat and death. In a later essay, *Pessimism?* (1922), he wrote that the men of the West must still be men, and do all they could to realize the immense possibilities still open to them. Above all, they must embrace the one absolute imperative: The destruction of Money and democracy, especially in the field of politics, that grand and all-encompassing field of endeavor.

'Prussian' Socialism

After the publication of the first volume of *Decline*, Spengler's thoughts turned increasingly to

contemporary politics in Germany. After experiencing the Bavarian revolution and its short-lived Soviet republic, he wrote a slender volume titled *Prussianism and Socialism*. Its theme was that a tragic misunderstanding of the concepts was at work: Conservatives and socialists, instead of being at loggerheads, should united under the banner of a true socialism. This was not the Marxist-materialist abomination, he said, but essentially the same thing as Prussianism: a socialism of the German community, based on its unique work ethic, discipline, and organic rank instead of "money." This "Prussian" socialism he sharply contrasted both to the capitalistic ethic of England and the "socialism" of Marx (!), whose theories amounted to "capitalism for the proletariat."

In his corporate state proposals Spengler anticipated the Fascists, although he never was one, and his "socialism" was essentially that of the National-Socialists (but without the folkish racialism). His early appraisal of a corporation for which the State would have directional control but not ownership of or direct responsibility for the various private segments of the economy sounded much like Werner Sombart's later favorable review of National Socialist economics in his *A New Social Philosophy* [Princeton Univ. Press, 1937; translation of *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934)].

Prussianism and Socialism did not meet with a favorable reaction from the critics or the public — eager though the public had been, at first, to learn his views. The book's message was considered to "visionary" and eccentric — it cut across too many party lines. The years 1920-23 saw Spengler retreat into a preoccupation with the revision of the first volume of *Decline*, and the completion of the second. He did occasionally give lectures, and wrote some essays, only a few of which have survived.

Political Involvement

In 1924, following the social-economic upheaval of the terrible inflation, Spengler entered the political fray in an effort to bring Reichswehr general Hans von Seeckt to power as the country's leader. But the effort came to naught. Spengler proved totally ineffective in practical politics. It was the old story of the would-be "philosopher-king," who was more philosopher than king (or king-maker).

After 1925, at the start of Weimar Germany's all-too-brief period of relative stability, Spengler devoted most of his time to his research and writing. He was particularly concerned that he had left an important gap in his great work — that of the pre-history of man. In *Decline* he had written that prehistoric man was basically without a history, but he revised that opinion. His work on the subject was only fragmentary, but 30 years after his death a

compilation was published under the title *Early Period of World History*.

His main task as he saw it, however, was a grand and all-encompassing work on his metaphysics — of which *Decline* had only given hints. He never did finish this, though *Fundamental Questions*, in the main a collection of aphorisms on the subject, was published in 1965.

In 1931 he published *Man and Technics*, a book that reflected his fascination with the development and usage, past and future, of the technical. The development of advanced technology is unique to the West, and he predicted where it would lead. *Man and Technics* is a racialist book, though not in a narrow "Germanic" sense. Rather it warns the European or white races of the pressing danger from the outer Colored races. It predicts a time when the Colored peoples of the earth will use the very technology of the West to destroy the West.

Reservations About Hitler

There is much in Spengler's thinking that permits one to characterize him as a kind of "proto-Nazi": his call for a return to Authority, his hatred of "decadent" democracy, his exaltation of the spirit of "Prussianism," his idea of war as essential to life. However, he never joined the National Socialist party, despite the repeated entreaties of such NS luminaries as Gregor Strasser and Ernst Hanfstaengl. He regarded the National Socialists as immature, fascinated with marching bands and patriotic slogans, playing with the bauble of power but not realizing the philosophical significance and new imperatives of the age. Of Hitler he supposed to have said that what Germany needed was a hero, not a heroic tenor. Still, he did vote for Hitler against Hindenburg in the 1932 election. He met Hitler in person only once, in July 1933, but Spengler came away unimpressed from their lengthy discussion.

His views about the National Socialists and the direction Germany should properly be taking surfaced in late 1933, in his book *The Hour of Decision* [translation of *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*]. He began it by stating that no one could have looked forward to the National Socialist revolution with greater longing than he. In the course of the work, though, he expressed (sometimes in veiled form) his reservations about the new regime. Germanophile though he certainly was, nevertheless he viewed the National Socialists as too narrowly German in character, and not sufficiently European.

Although he continued the racialist tone of *Man and Technics*, Spengler belittled what he regarded as the exclusiveness of the National Socialist concept of race. In the face of the outer danger, what should be emphasized is the unity of the various

European races, not their fragmentation. Beyond a matter-of-fact recognition of the "colored peril" and the superiority of white civilization, Spengler repeated his own "non-materialist" concept of race (which he had already expressed in *Decline*): Certain men — of whatever ancestry — have "race" (a kind of will-to-power), and these are the makers of history.

Predicting a second world war, Spengler warned in *Hour of Decision* that the National Socialists were not sufficiently watchful of the powerful hostile forces outside the country that would mobilize to destroy them, and Germany. His most direct criticism was phrased in this way: "And the National Socialists believe that they can afford to ignore the world or oppose it, and build their castles-in-the-air without creating a possibly silent, but very palpable reaction from abroad." Finally, but after it had already achieved a wide circulation, the authorities prohibited the book's further distribution.

Oswald Spengler, shortly after predicting that in a decade there would no longer be a German Reich, died of a heart attack on May 8, 1936, in his Munich apartment. He went to his death convinced that he had been right, and that events were unfolding in fulfillment of what he had written in *The Decline of the West*. He was certain that he lived in the twilight period of his Culture — which, despite his foreboding and gloomy pronouncements, he loved and cared for deeply to the very end.

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Aphorisms: From the Writings of Oswald Spengler

Even a good idea is worth little when it is expressed by a blockhead.

Man makes history; woman is history. The reproduction of the species is feminine: it runs steadily and quietly through all species, animal or human, through all short-lived cultures. It is primary, unchanging, everlasting, maternal, plantlike, and cultureless. If we look back we find that it is synonymous with life itself.

It doesn't really matter what one writes into a constitution. The important thing is what the collective instinct eventually makes of it.

Little as we know about the events of the future, one thing is certain: the moving forces of the future will be none other than those of the past — the will of the stronger, healthy instincts, race, will to property, and power.

The question of whether world peace will ever be possible can only be answered by someone familiar with world history. To be familiar with world history means, however, to know human beings as they have been and always will be. There is a vast difference, which most people will never comprehend, between viewing future history as it will be and viewing it as one might like it to be. Peace is a desire, war is a fact; and history has never paid heed to human desires and ideals ...

Talk of world peace is heard today only among the white peoples, and not among the much more numerous colored races. This is a perilous state of affairs. When individual thinkers and idealists talk of peace, as they have done since time immemorial, the effect is negligible. But when whole peoples become pacifistic it is a symptom of senility. Strong and unspent races are not pacifistic. To adopt such a position is to abandon the future, for the pacifist ideal is a terminal condition that is contrary to the basic facts of existence. As long as man continues to evolve, there will be wars ...

Pacifism means letting the non-pacifists have control ... Pacifism will remain an ideal, war a fact. If the white races are resolved never to wage war again, the colored will act differently and become rulers of the world.

Society is based on the inequality of men. This is a fact of nature.

Men are tired of money-economy. They hope for salvation from somewhere or other, for some real thing

of honor and chivalry, of inward nobility, of unselfishness and duty.

The life of the individual is important to no one but himself; the point is whether he attempts to escape from history or give his life to it. History takes no heed of human logic.

The wealth of birth in primitive populations is a natural phenomenon, the very existence of which no one thinks about, let alone its advantages or disadvantages. Where reasons for questioning the existence of life enter the human consciousness, life itself has already become questionable.

Who would have thought that history lessons and the political education of the people are one and the same?

When a nation rises up to fight for its freedom and honor, it is always a minority that inspires the masses.

Suddenly all those individuals who yesterday felt that "we" meant only their families, their professions, or perhaps their communities, become men of the nation. Their emotions and thoughts, their egos, that "something" within them, all are transformed: they have become historical.

There has never been a healthy economy without a strong political base, although the theory of materialism teaches the opposite.

Enthusiasm is a virtue for followers, a vice for leaders. Intelligence is more important than inspiration.

The great man lives in such a way that his existence is a sacrifice to his idea.

This is our task: to make as meaningful as possible this life that has been bestowed upon us, this reality with which fate has surrounded us; to live in such a way that we may be proud of ourselves; to act in such a way that some part of us lives on.

The essence of religion is perhaps most clearly recognized in what it does not tolerate.

The highest virtues attainable are heroism and saintliness: great affirmation or great renunciation.

The hero is indifferent to death and the saint indifferent to life.

The Last Judgment is a beautiful idea. And if we do not believe in it, we should still live in such a way that we could pass the test.

Happiness is unexpected, rare, unlikely, brief and blindly appreciated. The less men have brooded about the nature of happiness, or their right to it, the happier they have been.

Animals and primitive men are neither perverse nor licentious. Their Eros is in rhythmic harmony with the universe... Only civilization has made a problem of eroticism, converted it into unrestrained greed.

Life is wealthy enough to waste individuals. Countless seeds, embryos, and children perish, often the best ones. All that matters is that enough remain to keep the species from dying out.

The common man wants nothing of life but health, longevity, amusement, comfort — "happiness." He who does not despise this should turn his eyes from world history, for it contains nothing of the sort. The best that history has created is great suffering.

In history it is not idealism, goodness or morality that reign — their kingdom is not of this world — but rather resolve, energy, presence of mind, and practical ability. One cannot erase this fact with laments and moral judgments. That is the way man is; that is the way life is; that is way history is.



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Oswald Spengler: Criticism and Tribute

REVILO P. OLIVER

Conceived before the First World War is Oswald Spengler's magisterial work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Munich, 1918). Read in this country chiefly in the brilliantly faithful translation by Charles Francis Atkinson, *The Decline of the West* (New York, two volumes, 1926-28), Spengler's morphology of history was the great intellectual achievement of our century. Whatever our opinion of his methods or conclusions, we cannot deny that he was the Copernicus of historiometry. All subsequent writings on the philosophy of history may fairly be described as criticism of the *Decline of the West*.

Spengler, having formulated a universal history, undertook an analysis of the forces operating in the immediately contemporary world. This he set forth in a masterly work, *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*, of which only the first volume could be published in Germany (Munich, 1933) and translated into English (*The Hour of Decision*, New York, 1934). One had only to read this brilliant work, with its lucid analysis of forces that even acute observers did not perceive until 25 or 30 years later, and with its prevision that subsequent events have now shown to have been absolutely correct, to recognize that its author was one of the great political and philosophical minds of the West. One should remember, however, that the amazing accuracy of his analysis of the contemporary situation does not necessarily prove the validity of his historical morphology.

The publication of Spengler's first volume in 1918 released a spate of controversy that continues to the present day. Manfred Schroeter in *Der Streit um Spengler* (Munich, 1922) was able to give a précis of the critiques that had appeared in a little more than three years; today, a mere bibliography, if reasonably complete, would take years to compile and would probably run to eight hundred or a thousand

Reviло P. Oliver, a scholar of international stature, taught Classics at the University of Illinois for 32 years. From 1980 until his death in August 1994, he was a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. For more about Dr. Oliver, see the memorial tribute to him in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20. This essay, originally written in 1963, is reprinted from the anthology *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* (1982), pp. 193-200.

printed pages.

Spengler naturally stirred up swarms of nitwits, who were particularly incensed by his immoral and preposterous suggestion that there could be another war in Europe, when everybody knew that there just couldn't be anything but World Peace after 1918, 'cause Santa had just brought a nice, new, shiny "League of Nations." Such "liberal" chatterboxes are always making a noise, but no one with the slightest knowledge of human history pays any attention to them, except as symptoms.

Unfortunately, much more intelligent criticism of Spengler was motivated by emotional dissatisfaction with his conclusions. In an article in *Antiquity* for 1927, the learned R.S. Collingwood of Oxford went so far as to claim that Spengler's two volumes had not given him "a single genuinely new idea," and that he had "long ago carried out for himself" — and, of course, rejected — even Spengler's detailed analyses of individual cultures. As a cursory glance at Spengler's work will suffice to show, that assertion is less plausible than a claim to know *everything* contained in the Twelfth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Collingwood, the author of the *Speculum Mantis* and other philosophical works, must have been bedeviled with emotional resentments so strong that he could not see how conceited, arrogant and improbable his vaunt would seem to most readers.

It is now a truism that Spengler's "pessimism" and "fatalism" was an unbearable shock to minds nurtured in the Nineteenth-century illusion that everything would get better and better forever and ever. Spengler's cyclic interpretation of history stated that a civilization was an organism having a definite and fixed life-span and moving from infancy to senescence and death by an internal necessity comparable to the biological necessity that decrees the development of the human organism from infantile imbecility to senile decrepitude. Napoleon, for example, was the counterpart of Alexander in the ancient world.

We were now, therefore, in a phase of civilizational life in which constitutional forms are supplanted by the prestige of individuals. By 2000, we shall be "contemporary" with the Rome of Sulla, the Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and China at the time when the "Contending States" were welded

into an empire. That means that we face an age of world wars and what is worse, civil wars and proscriptions, and that around 2060 the West (if not destroyed by its alien enemies) will be united under the personal rule of a Caesar or Augustus. That is not a pleasant prospect.

Greatness or Optimism

The *only* question before us, however, is whether Spengler is correct in his analysis. Rational men will regard as irrelevant the fact that his conclusions are not charming. If a physician informs you that you have symptoms of arteriosclerosis, he may or may not be right in his diagnosis, but it is absolutely certain that you cannot rejuvenate yourself by slapping his face.

Every detached observer of our times, I think, will agree that Spengler's "pessimism" aroused emotions that precluded rational consideration. I am inclined to believe that the *moral* level of his thinking was a greater obstacle. His "fatalism" was not the comforting kind that permits men to throw up their hands and eschew responsibilities. Consider, for example, the concluding lines of his *Men and Technics* (New York, 1932):

Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every people, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. Time does not suffer itself to be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or wise renunciation. Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one thing that can *not* be taken from a man.

Now, whether or not the stern prognostication that lies back of that conclusion is correct, no man fit to live in the present can read those lines without feeling his heart lifted by the great ethos of a noble culture — the spiritual strength of the West that can know tragedy and be unafraid. And simultaneously, that pronouncement will affright to hysteria the epicene homunculi among us, the puling cowards who hope only to scuttle about safely in the darkness and to batten on the decay of a culture infinitely beyond their comprehension.

That contrast is in itself a very significant datum



Revilo P. Oliver

for an estimate of the present condition of our civilization...

Three Points of Criticism

Criticism of Spengler, therefore, if it is not to seem mere quibbling about details, must deal with major premises. Now, so far as I can see, Spengler's thesis can be challenged at three really fundamental points, namely:

(1) Spengler regards each civilization as a closed and isolated entity animated by a dominant idea, or *Weltanschauung*, that is its "soul." Why should ideas, or concepts, the impalpable creations of the human mind, undergo an organic evolution as though they were living protoplasm, which, as a material substance, is understandably subject to chemical change and hence biological laws? This logical objection is not conclusive: Men may observe the tides, for example, and even predict them, without being able to explain what causes them. But when we must deduce historical laws from the four of five civilizations of which we have some fairly accurate knowledge, we do not have enough repetitions of a phenomenon to calculate its periodicity with assurance, if we do not know why it happens.

(2) A far graver difficulty arises from the historical fact that we have already mentioned. For five centuries, at least, the men of the West regarded modern civilization as a revival or prolongation of Graeco-Roman antiquity. Spengler, as the very basis of his hypothesis, regards the Classical world as a civilization distinct from, and alien to, our own — a civilization that, like the Egyptian, lived, died, and is now gone. It was dominated by an entirely different *Weltanschauung*, and consequently the educated men of Europe and America, who for five centuries believed in continuity, were merely suffering from an illusion or hallucination.

Even if we grant that, however, we are still con-

fronted by a *unique* historical phenomenon. The Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Hindu, and Arabian ("Magian"), civilizations are all regarded by Spengler (and other proponents of an organic structure of culture) as single and unrelated organisms: Each came into being without deriving its concepts from another civilization (or, alternatively, seeing its own concepts in the records of an earlier civilization), and each died leaving no offspring (or, alternatively, no subsequent civilization thought to see in them its own concepts). There is simply no parallel or precedent for the relationship (real or imaginary) which links Graeco-Roman culture to our own.

Since Spengler wrote, a great historical discovery has further complicated the question. We now know that the Mycenaean peoples were Greeks, and it is virtually certain that the essentials of their culture survived the disintegration caused by the Dorian invasion, and were the basis of later Greek culture. (For a good summary, see Leonard R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, London, 1961). We therefore have a sequence that is, so far as we know, unique:

Mycenaean → Dark Ages → Graeco-Roman → Dark Ages → Modern. If this is one civilization, it has had a creative life-span far longer than that of any other that has thus far appeared in the world. If it is more than one, the interrelations form an exception to Spengler's general law, and suggest the possibility that a civilization, if it dies by some kind of quasi-biological process, may in some cases have a quasi-biological power of reproduction.

The exception becomes even more remarkable if we, unlike Spengler, regard as fundamentally important the concept of self-government, which may have been present even in Mycenaean times (see L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, cited above, p. 97). Democracies and constitutional republics are found only in the Graeco-Roman world and our own; such institutions seem to have been incomprehensible to other cultures.

(3) For all practical purposes, Spengler ignores hereditary and racial differences. He even uses the word "race" to represent a qualitative difference between members of what we should call the same race, and he denies that that difference is to any significant extent caused by heredity. He regards biological races as plastic and mutable, even in their physical characteristics, under the influence of geographical factors (including the soil, which is said to affect the physical organism through food) and of what Spengler terms "a mysterious cosmic force" that has nothing to do with biology. The only real unity is cultural, that is, the fundamental ideas and beliefs shared by the peoples who form a civilization. Thus Spengler, who makes those ideas subject to quasi-biological growth and decay, oddly rejects

as insignificant the findings of biological science concerning living organisms.

It is true, of course, that man is in part a spiritual being. Of that, persons who have a religious faith need no assurance. Others, unless they are determined blindly to deny the evidence before us, must admit the existence of phenomena of the kind described by Franz E. Winkler, M.D., in *Man the Bridge Between Two Worlds* (New York, Harper, 1960), and, of course, by many other writers. And every historian knows that no one of the higher cultures could conceivably have come into being, if human beings are merely animals.

But it is also true that the science of genetics, founded by Father Mendel only a century ago and almost totally neglected down to the early years of the Twentieth Century, has ascertained biological laws that can be denied only by denying the reality of the physical world. Every educated person knows that the color of a man's eyes, the shape of the lobes of his ears, and every one of his other physiological characteristics is determined by hereditary factors. It is virtually certain that intellectual capacity is likewise produced by inheritance, and there is a fair amount of evidence that indicated that even moral capacities are likewise innate.

Man's power of intervention in the development of inherited qualities appears to be entirely negative, thus affording another melancholy proof that human ingenuity can easily destroy what it can never create. Any fool with a knife can in three minutes make the most beautiful woman forever hideous, and one of our "mental health experts," even without using a knife, can as quickly and permanently destroy the finest intellect. And it appears that less drastic interventions, through education and other control of environment, may temporarily or even permanently pervert and deform, but are powerless to create capacities that an individual did not inherit from near or more remote ancestors.

The facts are beyond question, although the Secret Police in Soviet Russia and "liberal" spitting squads in the United States have largely succeeded in keeping these facts from the general public in the areas they control. But no amount of terrorism can alter the laws of nature. For a readable exposition of genetics, see Garrett Hardin's *Nature and Man's Fate* (New York, Rinehart, 1959), which is subject only to the reservation that the laws of genetics, like the laws of chemistry, are verified by observation every day, whereas the doctrine of biological evolution is necessarily an hypothesis that cannot be verified by experiment.

The Race Factor

It is also beyond question that the races of mankind differ greatly in physical appearance, in sus-

ceptibility to specific diseases, and in average intellectual capacity. There are indications that they differ also in nervous organization, and possibly, in moral instincts. It would be a miracle if that were not so, for, as is well known, the three primary races were distinct and separate at the time that intelligent men first appeared on this planet, and have so remained ever since. The differences are so pronounced and stable that the proponents of biological evolution are finding it more and more necessary to postulate that the differences go back to species that preceded the appearance of the *homo sapiens*. (See the new and revised edition of Dr. Carleton S. Coon's *The Story of Man*, New York, Knopf, 1962).

That such differences exist is doubtless deplorable. It is certainly deplorable that all men must die, and there are persons who think it deplorable that there are differences, both anatomical and spiritual between men and women. However, no amount of concerted lying by "liberals," and no amount of decreeing by the Warren [Supreme Court] Gang, will in the least change the laws of nature.

Now there is a great deal that we do *not* know about genetics, both individual and racial, and these uncertainties permit widely differing estimates of the relative importance of biologically determined factors and cultural concepts in the development of a civilization. Our only point here is that it is highly improbable that biological factors have *no* influence at all on the origin and course of civilizations. And to the extent that they do have an influence, Spengler's theory is defective and probably misleading.

Profound Insights

One could add a few minor points to the three objections stated above, but these will suffice to show that the Spenglerian historionomy cannot be accepted as a certainty. It is, however, a great philosophical formulation that poses questions of the utmost importance and deepens our perception of historical causality. No student of history needed Spengler to tell him that a decline of religious faith necessarily weakens the moral bonds that make civilized society possible. But Spengler's showing that such a decline seems to have occurred at a definite point in the development of a number of fundamentally different civilizations with, of course, radically different religions provides us with data that we must take into account when we try to ascertain the true causes of the decline. And his further observation that the decline was eventually followed by a sweeping revival of religious belief is equally significant.

However wrong he may have been about some

things, Spengler has given us profound insights into the nature of our own culture. But for him, we might have gone on believing that our great technology was merely a matter of economics — of trying to make more things more cheaply. But he has shown us, I think, that our technology has a deeper significance — that for us, the men of Western civilization, it answers a certain spiritual need inherent in us, and that we derive from its triumphs as satisfaction analogous to that which is derived from great music or great art.

And Spengler, above all, has forced us to inquire into the nature of civilization and to ask ourselves by what means — if any — we can repair and preserve the long and narrow dikes that alone protect us from the vast and turbulent ocean of eternal barbarism. For that, we must always honor him.

Revilo Oliver on History

... The development of a working philosophy of history is the most urgent, as well as the most difficult, task of Twentieth Century thought.

The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change.

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

"Some believe all manner of hearsay evidence; others twist truth into fiction; and both sorts of errors are magnified by time."

— Tacitus, Roman historian.

French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy

Le Pen, Faurisson, Garaudy Fined for 'Holocaust Denial'

MARK WEBER

In 1789 the French National Assembly enacted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen," a guiding document of the French Revolution that solemnly proclaims as "inalienable" the rights of free speech and of the press.

Today French citizens are, by and large, able to express their views freely on nearly any topic. But there is one important exception. Those who challenge the Western world's most important social-political taboo — on the Second World War treatment of the Jews — are routinely punished for their apostasy.

France's Fabius-Gayssot law of July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46. This one-sided law — which was introduced to the French parliament by Socialist Party deputy Laurent Fabius (a prominent Jewish political figure) and by Communist Party deputy Jean-Claude Gayssot — is applied selectively only to expressions of skepticism about real or alleged atrocities committed by the losers of the Second World War — that is, by Germans and their allies — and only about the wartime treatment of Jews.

Newspapers, government officials and human rights organizations in Europe and the United States that normally are quick to condemn restrictions on civil liberties have been silent about France's Fabius-Gayssot law and similar "Holocaust denial" laws in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain.

Jean-Marie Le Pen

In 1987 Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France's National Front political party, was found guilty of violating the Fabius-Gayssot law by referring to German execution gas chambers as a "detail" or a "minor point" in Second World War history. During a September 1987 interview, he said:

Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I couldn't see them myself. I haven't studied the questions

specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de détail*] in the history of the Second World War.

After a drawn-out court battle, Le Pen was convicted by a French court and fined 1.2 million francs (\$200,000).

Ten years later, on December 5, 1997, while in Munich to promote a book about himself written by German author and political figure Franz Schönhuber, Le Pen was asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying "There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement," and then added: "If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that's what's called a detail." (See the accompanying essay, "The Detail," by Robert Faurisson.)

Seventeen organizations responded by promptly filing a formal legal complaint. Among the groups demanding punishment were the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which is headquartered in Los Angeles and has an office in Europe, and the Paris-based "Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples."

On December 26, 1997, a Paris Court sentenced Le Pen for his second "detail" remark, ordering him to pay 300,000 francs (\$50,000) to publish the text of the court's decision in a dozen French newspapers. In addition, he was ordered to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the 17 organizations that had brought a suit against him. Because all this is an interim punishment, an even more severe punishment may be forthcoming.

Le Pen was born in 1928 in a Breton fishing village in western France. He served in the armed forces as a paratrooper, and worked as a fisherman and miner to pay for his studies. As a law student in Paris, he was known as an ardent anti-Communist and political activist who was not afraid of physical confrontations. Even his enemies acknowledge his courage and his skill as a public speaker and organizer.

In 1972 he founded the National Front. After several years of obscurity, the nationalist political party has achieved a significant level of popular

support with its call, "France for the French." In last year's parliamentary elections the party won 15 percent of the vote. Le Pen, who is an elected member of the European Parliament, personally captured this same percentage of votes in the first round of the presidential election of 1995.

Le Pen has recently said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. During an interview on December 12, 1997, he explained: "I won't respond any more. It's a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by the media."

Robert Faurisson

For nearly 20 years, Robert Faurisson has been reviled and acclaimed as Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. And no one has been targeted more frequently for violating France's anti-revisionist than this former professor at the University of Lyon and specialist of text and document analysis. He first publicly explained his skeptical views of the Holocaust gas chamber story in articles published in late 1978 and early 1979 in France's most respected daily paper, *Le Monde*.

A coalition of nine organizations, led by the Paris-based "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA), brought a civil lawsuit alleging "personal damages" for Faurisson's "falsification of history." Found guilty of "personal damages" but not "falsification of history," he was convicted on July 8, 1981.

Faurisson appealed the decision, which was upheld by the Paris Court of Appeals on April 26, 1983. It ordered him to pay "damages" to the various Jewish and leftist organizations that had brought the complaint, as well as pay court costs and the cost of publishing the verdict in three French periodicals.

During an interview in December 1980 with the French radio network "Europe 1," Faurisson stated:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial fraud, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people — but not their rulers — and the entire Palestinian people.

For these provocative words, Faurisson was brought to trial on criminal charges of racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred. In July 1981 he was found guilty and given a suspended



Jean-Marie Le Pen

three month prison sentence, fined several thousand francs, and ordered to pay 3.6 million francs for the cost of making public the verdict on television and in periodicals. However, in June 1982 an appeals court threw out the charge of incitement to racial hatred and eliminated the 3.6 million franc payment.

Among his other legal travails, in June 1995 a Paris court ordered Faurisson to pay a fine of \$3,000 for writing *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"), a book that disputes claims of Second World War mass killings in German gas chambers. Henri Roques, another French revisionist, was likewise fined \$3,000 by the court for distributing the work. Roques is also author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR. (See "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.)

Faurisson has had to contend with many other trials and court convictions over the years, as well as the freezing of his bank account. Court officials have visited his house a number of times, threatening him and his wife with seizure of their furniture to pay for the considerable financial "damages" imposed for a simple interview in *Le Choc du mois*.

On September 25, 1997, Faurisson came to trial for a statement made in April 1996 on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair in which he mentioned "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers." During the trial he told the court: "We are only three years away from the year 2000, and there are billions of



Roger Garaudy

people who are asked to believe in something they have never seen and don't even know how it worked!"

Judge Jean-Yves Monfort showed considerable respect for the defendant during the trial. He was surprised to learn that there are revisionist web sites around the world, and on several occasions showed that he felt uncomfortable applying the Fabius-Gayssot law. It is true, said Monfort, that the court is asked to participate in a debate that ought to take place among historians.

The prosecutor asked for a new kind of sentence: either imprisonment or a fine, to which Faurisson responded by declaring: "I hereby make a commitment that I shall not buy and shall not pay for my freedom. No one has ever bought me and no one will ever buy me."

As expected, the Paris court handed down a guilty verdict. On October 23 it ordered Faurisson to pay 120,600 francs (\$20,000), divided into three parts: 50,000 francs as a fine, 20,600 francs for a Jewish attorney, and 50,000 to pay for the publication of the summary of the court's judgment in the daily newspapers *Le Monde* and *Libération*, as well as (unprecedentedly) in the *Journal officiel de la République française*.

Faurisson has paid the Jewish lawyer and is paying the fine in installments. However, he will not have to pay to promulgate the court judgment

because, he has learned, the anti-revisionist organizations decided that they did not wish to see the publication of the words "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers."

There seems to be no end in sight for Faurisson's legal travails. He had to appear before a Paris court on March 16, 1998, to stand trial for a short definition of "revisionism," as inaccurately reported in *Rivarol*. The court's verdict is expected on April 27. On that day Faurisson is due to testify in London on behalf of Nick Griffin, who is being tried for having taken expressed revisionist skepticism about Nazi gas chambers in an issue of his magazine, *The Rune*.

On April 8 Faurisson is set to stand trial in Amsterdam for the publication in 1991 in Dutch of his detailed critical analysis of the Anne Frank *Diary*. Originally written for Ernst Römer, a German who had been put on trial in 1978 in Hamburg, it has been published in various editions (including in the Summer 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?").

The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, jointly brought the legal action. The Museum complained that it has been obliged to provide special training for its guides to respond to Faurisson's arguments, and that his critique might reduce the number of its visitors.

In December 1997 he received a summons from a Paris court official for an essay, "The Horned Visions of the Holocaust," that had been posted without his prior knowledge or approval on an Internet web site. In this piece Faurisson wrote that "The Holocaust of the Jews is a fiction." He responded to the summons with a stern letter in which he defiantly declared his refusal to "collaborate" with French justice authorities and police in the repression of revisionism. This case is likely to come to trial in October.

Faurisson has also been the victim of numerous physical attacks for his views. Between November 1978 and May 1993 he was assaulted on ten occasions, with at least nine of the attacks carried out by Jewish organizations or militants. Probably the worst was a savage and nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989, for which a group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility. No one was ever arrested for these crimes. (For more, see "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 6-7, and *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR: 1993], pp. 15-16.)

Reynouard, Garaudy and Others

Faurisson and Le Pen are hardly the only ones whom Jewish groups and French officials have targeted for expressing skepticism of the officially sanctioned version of 20th century history. Other



On February 27, 1998, thugs of the militant Jewish group "Betar" brazenly attacked visitors in the Paris court house who were sympathetic with Roger Garaudy, a French scholar who was sentenced on that day to pay \$20,000 for revisionist remarks made in a 1996 book. At least eight persons were injured in the assaults.

victims include Philippe Costa, Alain Guionnet and Fabrice Robert. Between July 1990 and January 1993 alone, the Fabius-Gayssot law had already been applied 27 times.

In 1997 and early 1998, the principal victim of anti-revisionism in France has been Vincent Reynouard, who was abruptly dismissed without notice from his position as a teacher at a college in Normandy for an expression of unorthodox historical views. Reynouard, 28, is married and has three young children. Michel Adam, a teacher in Brittany in his mid-50s, has similarly been suspended from his post for expressing revisionist views, and will probably be permanently laid off.

Eric Delcroix, Faurisson's attorney, has been sentenced for his book, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme* ("The Thought Police Against Revisionism"). A bookseller in Bordeaux, Jean-Luc Lundi, has received a stiff sentence because he offered revisionist books for sale. In Paris, thugs have repeatedly assaulted bookseller Georges Piscoci-Danesco and attacked his book shop, which stocked some revisionist titles, while the police have refused protection.

Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, a Jewish sociologist, was dismissed in February from his position as a visiting scholar in Berlin with "Marc Bloch" German-French research center when it was discovered that during the early 1980s he had defended Faurisson, and had expressed skepticism about the existence of Nazi gas chambers while he was associated with the revisionist publishing enterprise *Le Vieille Taupe* ("The Old Mole") of Pierre Guillaume. As soon as the affair began, Rittersporn recanted, saying that he had been wrong to embrace revisionist



"Never mind! We'll take care of order in the court building," says a "Betar" militant to a French policeman in the Paris *Palais du Justice*. In this drawing, published in the French weekly *Rivarol* (March 6), "Chard" comments on the brazen behavior of Jewish thugs and the passivity of the police.

views and that since then he had come to realize that Faurisson was wrong (*Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998).

In a much-publicized recent case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined French philosopher Roger Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000) — not 120,000 francs, as widely reported — for statements made in his 1996 book *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics," reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*). Specifically, he was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing scholarly skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media.

Garaudy, an 84-year-old convert to Islam, has won considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where this case is widely regarded as another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (More on the Garaudy affair will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)

On the day that the verdict was pronounced against Garaudy, some 30 thugs of the Jewish youth organization "Betar" (comparable to the Jewish Defense League in the USA) assaulted revisionists at the Paris court house (*Palais de Justice*). At least



Robert Faurisson

eight persons were injured: six inside the building and two outside. Although about 120 guards and gendarmes were present, there were no arrests. Faurisson and four others, along with two guards, had to escape from the building through an underground passageway.

Jacques Vergès, Garaudy's defense attorney, and Eric Delcroix, attorney for co-defendant Pierre Guillaume (publisher of Garaudy's book), filed a formal complaint with the court. Faurisson also protested the official toleration of Jewish violence in an open letter to the *Commandant militaire du Palais de Justice*. On several occasions since 1980, Betar thugs have assaulted peaceable court house visitors, acting with impunity as security guards and gendarmes passively stood by. (See "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, esp. pp. 8-9.)

— March 22, 1998

Important People

"Half the harm that is done in this world is due to people who want to feel important. They don't want to do harm — but the harm does not interest them. Or they do not see it, or they justify it. Because they are absorbed in the endless struggle to think well of themselves."

— T. S. Eliot

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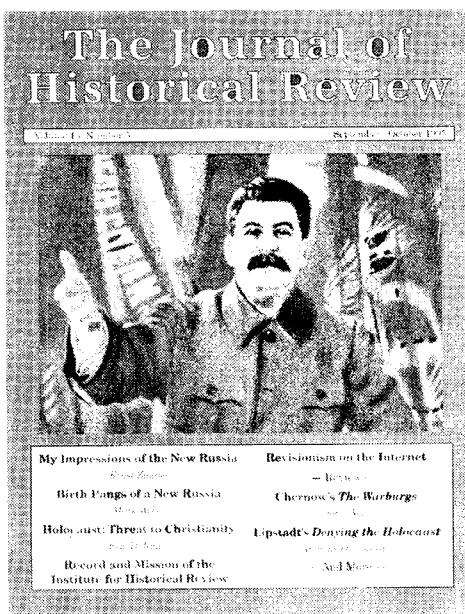
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Comparing the Titanic Sinking History's Little-Known Naval Disasters

Many of those who view "Titanic," the new blockbuster motion picture, may leave the movie theater believing that the April 15, 1912, sinking of the great British liner, with the loss of 1,523 men, women and children, was history's greatest maritime disaster.

Others may perhaps think of the British passenger liner *Lusitania*, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives.

But these disasters are dwarfed by the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*, three German ships crowded with evacuated refugees and wounded soldiers that were struck by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War.

As John Ries points out in his essay in the Fall 1992 *Journal*, "History's Greatest Naval Disasters," more lives were lost in the case of each of these vessels than in the sinkings of either the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*.

The first of these German ships to go down was the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, a 25,000-ton converted luxury liner that had been serving as a hospital ship. When it left the Baltic harbor of Gdynia (Gotenhafen) on January 30, 1945, it was jammed with nearly 5,000 refugees, mostly women and children, and 1,600 military servicemen. At shortly after nine o'clock in the evening, it was struck by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13. Convoy vessels were able to rescue only about 900 from the sub-freezing Baltic waters. At least 5,400 perished.

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10, the *General Steuben* sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the *Gustloff*, and in almost the same location, sank the *Steuben* with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes.

The sinking of the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time. The converted 5,230-ton transport ship had set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of

some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

Just a few minutes before midnight, the Soviet submarine L-3 fired two torpedoes at the *Goya*, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below. The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of nearly 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors.

Concluding his essay on this chapter of history, Ries wrote:

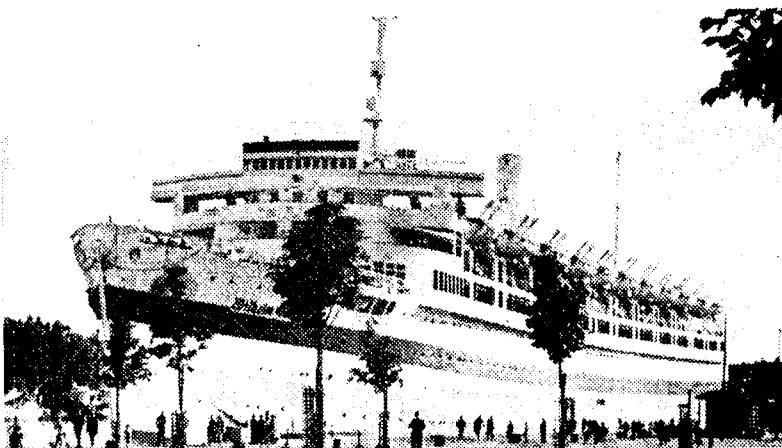
Although little known, the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Goya* — with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives — remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the *Gustloff*, the *Steuben* and the *Goya* — as well as many other smaller and lesser known vessels — is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Lesser known but also worthy of note is the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck* on May 27, 1941. Following intense attack in the Atlantic from British planes and four major British warships, it went under with the loss of some 2,200 men.

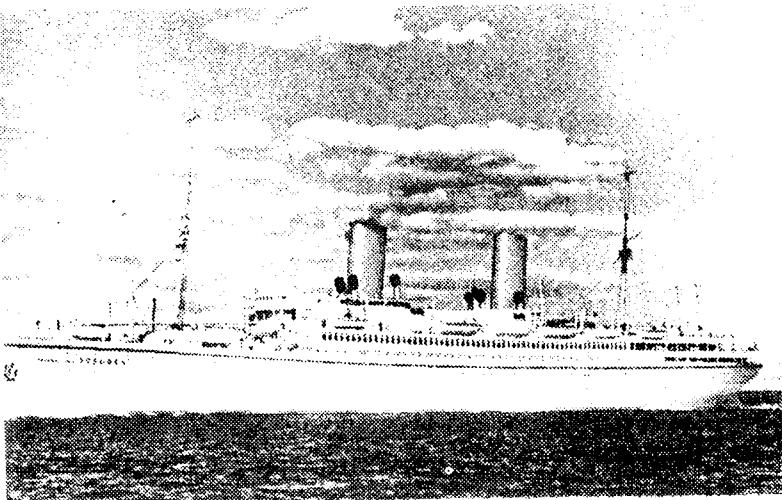
Even more tragic is the case of the *Cap Arcona*, a 27,650-ton converted German passenger ship packed with evacuated concentration camp inmates. On May 3, 1945, just a week before the end of the war, it was sunk by fire from a British fighter-bomber as it was moored in Lübeck harbor. Some 5,000 persons, nearly all of them inmates, lost their lives. Only about 500 could be rescued.

A similar fate befell the *Thielbek*, a German ship likewise packed with 2,800 inmates who were being evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Succumbing to intense fire from British war planes, it sank on May 3, 1945, with the loss of all on board.

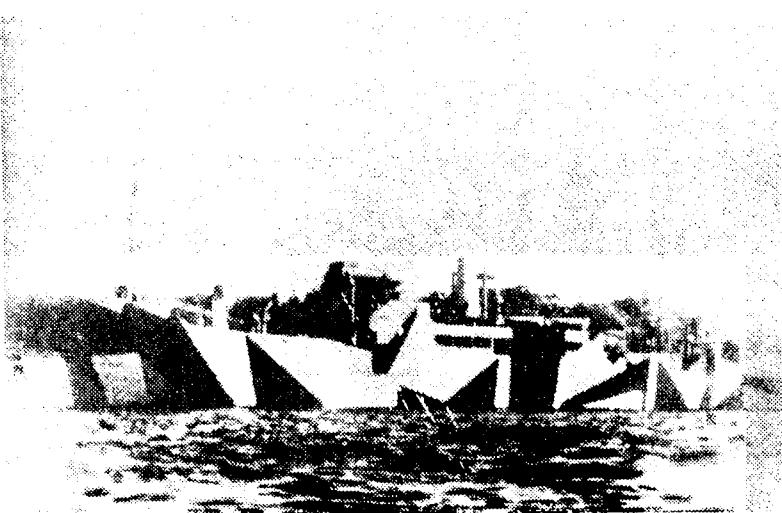
— M. W.



The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, which served before the war as a luxury liner, was overloaded with desperate civilian refugees when it was struck on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives.



The *General Steuben* was overloaded with wounded soldiers and refugees when it was sunk on February 10, 1945, with a loss of 3,500 lives. By comparison, 1,523 lives were lost in the 1912 sinking of the *Titanic*.



The *Goya*, shown here with camouflage paint, was attacked by Soviet submarine L-3 on April 16, 1945, taking nearly 7,000 lives. This little-known sinking is the greatest maritime disaster in history.

"No sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men."

— Thomas Carlyle

"The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see."

— Winston Churchill

Robert Graham and Revisionism

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

When I was writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered an extraordinary source, namely, the multi-volume collection of documents and commentary *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale* ("Acts and documents of the Holy See relative to the Second World War"). The series, whose principal editor was Robert A. Graham, was still being published by the Vatican, and further volumes were in preparation.

Graham was a former editor of the Jesuit magazine *America*. The "extermination" claim was not challenged in the series, and it was generally understood that Graham's main interest was in defending the wartime Pope Pius XII against charges of tacit consent to, and even collaboration with, Nazi policies of physical extermination of the Jews. Such charges crested with Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*.

I believed that the Vatican documents constitute an important source. I devoted an entire appendix of my book to discussing them.

In studying the series of volumes I was struck by some of the editorial remarks, and believed that the editor, although not a revisionist in our sense, was implicitly raising fundamental questions of a revisionist bent. A good example was the quotation of some selected passages from some reports, from apparently well informed sources, delivered to the Pope on July 15, 1943, which described Auschwitz as essentially a work camp, and spoke of Jews who had been deported from France sending letters back to their families.¹

These impressions were so strong that I believed it necessary to contact Graham directly. In early 1977 I wrote to him in Rome, thus starting a very satisfactory and years-long correspondence, although the request for copies of documents that I made to him at the time could not be filled, for reasons beyond his control.²

In summer 1977 I was in Rome and visited him. Our conversation confirmed to me what I had read between the lines in *Actes et documents*; the editor was puzzled by the evidence he had examined, because much of it seemed impossible to reconcile with the "extermination" legend. He showed me a pamphlet I had not seen, published in 1943 by the "Polish Labor Group" which was based in New York

but in touch with the Polish underground. Its title was appropriate: *Oswiecim — Camp of Death* ("Oswiecim" is Polish for "Auschwitz"). The pamphlet presented the truth with some embellishment, but what was important to Graham was that it did not speak of "exterminations" in any way reconcilable with the legend. He let me borrow the pamphlet to photocopy.

Volume 10 of *Actes et documents* was long delayed, and I wrote to Graham several times in my eagerness to see it. When publication finally came in 1980, Graham was thoughtful enough to alert me personally. I got a copy and found references to more interesting but unpublished documents. Again I wrote to Graham and happily, this time, my request was filled.³

At the IHR Conference in 1982, I compared the Holocaust legend to the Donation of Constantine, and sent Graham a copy of the paper. In the paper I had noted that the Jewish historian Walter Laqueur understood as I did "that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews."⁴ Graham acknowledged receipt of the copy of my paper with a very kind, respectful and encouraging letter, referring to and not disputing the remark about the Vatican. He only complained that Laqueur was, without foundation, accusing his group of suppressing relevant documents. That letter from Graham is reproduced here.

I always knew that there was an honest and honorable man editing the publication of the Vatican documents.

Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J., died in a California retirement home, at age 84, on February 11, 1997.

— July 31, 1997

Notes

1. *Actes et documents*, vol. 9, pp. 42, 393. The footnote on p. 42 should refer to "Nr. 264", not 164. More examples are given toward the end of "Appendix E" of my book.
2. I wanted copies of the documents about deportations of Jews that *Actes et documents* had quoted but not reproduced. Graham told me to send my "request through channels," that is, to Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. I did so but Casaroli replied



ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S. J.
VIA DI PORTA PINCIANA, 1
00187 ROME - (ITALY)

VILLA MALTA 25 January 1983

Robert A. Graham, S.J.



Pope Pius XII

Dear Mr. Butz,

Your airmailed copy of your September 1982 paper reached me today. I hasten to thank you for keeping me in mind when elaborating on your theme.

On a quick reading, I see I must reflect further on the validity of your approach. I never thought of this in the analogy of the "onation of Constantine!"

I note your quote from Laqueur on the Vatican. He was apparently peeved at us for telling him we published what we had, as of 1942. What makes him assume that there is on the contrary a lot more? This is begging the question.

I wish you a prosperous New Year and fresh discoveries and new insights on a great drama!

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Graham

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FAX (06) 699.40.997

15 November 1994

Mr. Mark Weber
Institute for Historical Review
P.O.Box 2739
Newport Beach, CA 92659
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Weber,

I received only today your letter of 20 August; it came, as indicated, by surface mail. That takes time; there are no fast transatlantic ships anymore.

I thank you for your enclosures. I thank you also for your interest in my own writings. I like to know ever more about the events of WWII. But exaggerations abound. Some people make outrageous statements which in many cases they seem to get away with. This is why I am glad to get a variety of views. I like to make up my own mind. Need I say that you and your collaborators have chosen a rocky road, for which you deserve credit.

Mr. Butz came to see me some years ago. Do you ever get to Rome?

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) Robert A. Graham

American-Born Vatican Historian Refuted 'Holocaust Complicity' Charges

One of the most persistent and malicious accusations leveled against the Roman Catholic Church in recent decades is the charge that Pope Pius XII and the Vatican acquiesced in the slaughter of millions of Jews during the Second World War by failing explicitly to condemn the killings. (On this subject, see: Mary Ball Martinez, "Pope Pius XII During the Second World War," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*.)

Greatly contributing to this campaign was a play, "The Deputy," which provoked intense worldwide discussion following its premiere in 1963. This polemical work by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth is based in large part on the "confessions" of former SS officer Kurt Gerstein. (For more on Gerstein, see Henri Roques' book-length study, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR.)

It is indeed true that Pope Pius XII made no explicit public condemnation during the war of killings of Jews — a fact that is often cited by the Church's critics to accuse the Vatican of grave moral culpability for passive complicity in "the Holocaust."

But as Dr. Arthur Butz has explained, a more reasonable explanation for this "silence" is the fact that Vatican officials were unable to confirm the rumors of a German policy or program to exterminate Europe's Jews, in spite of voluminous information received during the war years through an outstanding intelligence network. Thus, in late 1942 Pope Pius XII privately told an American official that, with regard to the extermination reports, he "felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda." (Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* [1981], pp. 104-105)

As Dr. Butz has further pointed out, neither the Allied governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or even the major international Jewish organizations, acted as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See Butz' paper, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," published as Supplement B in the current edition of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.)

In recent years, the most important Vatican voice refuting the "complicity" charge was that of the American-born historian Robert A. Graham, the Catholic Church's foremost authority on the Papacy's role during the Second World War. He once characterized the "complicity" accusations as "an obscenity."

Graham, a native of San Francisco, was born in 1912, the son of a baseball coach. After his ordina-

tion as a Jesuit priest in 1941, he studied at various Jesuit colleges, earned a doctorate in political science from the University of Geneva in 1952, and joined the staff of the Jesuit magazine *America* in New York. While serving as the magazine's associate editor, he began his decades-long investigation of social, historical and diplomatic issues.

Responding to the international furor of the early 1960s regarding the Vatican's wartime role, Pope Paul VI ordered secret Vatican records of the wartime era to be opened, and assigned Fr. Graham and three other scholars the great task of sifting, organizing and publishing this mass of material.

Over the course of the next 17 years, Graham and his associates issued a series of eleven comprehensive volumes of documents, supplemented with informed comment, under the title *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*. These detailed records show conclusively that Pope Pius XII actively aided large numbers of persecuted Jews during the war years, and that the Vatican was an important haven of refuge and assistance for the continent's Jews.

After the completion of this project in 1981, Fr. Graham continued his archival research and scholarly writing until the final months of his life.

For 24 years he was also a regular contributor to *Columbia*, the magazine of the US Catholic fraternal organization Knights of Columbus.

During his lifetime Graham wrote several books based on his extensive research in Vatican and other archives, including *Vatican Diplomacy* (1959), *Pope Pius XII and the Jews*, and *The Vatican and Communism During World War II* (1996). Over the years he also published many of his findings in numerous articles that appeared in the Rome-based scholarly journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*.

Fr. Graham's scrupulousness and open-mindedness is also reflected in his relations with revisionist researchers, as shown in the two letters reproduced here in facsimile (reduced).

— M.W.

"It is better to try big things even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor souls who neither enjoy much nor suffer much."

— Theodore Roosevelt

Pro-Israel Jews Play Ominous Role in Clinton Administration

RICHARD H. CURTISS

United States history of the past half-century is replete with instances of the pro-Israel community in America taking on the US foreign affairs establishment and winning. Two examples will suffice to show how long this has been going on.

In a meeting with President Harry Truman in 1945, heads of US diplomatic missions in the Middle East advised strongly against partitioning Palestine, saying it would result in a bloodbath in the short run and major problems for the United States in the Middle East and Asia in the long run. They were right, as history has proven. But President Truman's reply then was, "I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." Truman put American diplomatic muscle behind the partition resolution in the United Nations. In November 1947, partition prevailed, and fighting broke out almost immediately afterward.

Six months later, in May 1948, the question of diplomatic recognition for the Jewish state arose. Clark Clifford, Truman's domestic political adviser, warned him that if he did not recognize Israel he might lose the 1948 presidential election. General of the Armies George Marshall, America's top-ranking World War II military leader, who by then was serving as Truman's Secretary of State, counseled strongly against recognizing the soon-to-be State of Israel before it defined its borders. In Marshall's words, "I said bluntly that if the president were to

follow Mr. Clifford's advice and if in the elections I were to vote, I would vote against the President." Three days later, Truman recognized Israel eleven minutes after it proclaimed its independence. Nearly 50 years later Israel still has not defined its borders.

Things have come a long way since America's organized Jewish community scored those first major victories over common sense, US national interests, and the entire US foreign affairs establishment. In fact, in the administration of President Bill Clinton the pro-Israel portion of the Jewish community has become America's foreign affairs establishment.

In the State Department, the occupant of every position designated for assistant secretaries of state for regional affairs is Jewish or soon will be. And don't be misled by the "assistant" in the titles. The six regional assistant secretaries for Europe, the Near East, Africa, South Asia, the Far East, and Latin America and the Caribbean are the top foreign affairs officials for each of those geographic areas, which together encompass the world.

When it comes to the State Department's "Middle East peace team," the two top political appointees, Dennis Ross and his deputy, Aaron David Miller, both are Jewish with a long history of personal support for Zionism and residence in Israel.

Similarly, a large percentage of other top-echelon State Department political appointees and ambassadors are Jewish. A US ambassador who happened to be visiting Washington in October remarked to the writer that during Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, many State Department offices took on the forlorn, nearly deserted visage that used to characterize the brief interval between Christmas and New Year's day.

The same was true in the White House, where the top two foreign affairs officials, National Security Advisor Samuel Berger and his deputy, John Steinberg, are Jewish, as is Vice President Al Gore's national security advisor, Leon Furth. So are a lot of other White House policymakers. One of them, Clinton domestic political adviser Rahm Emmanuel, actually went to Israel for one month's service during the 1991 Gulf war in the Israel Defense Force

Richard H. Curtiss served as a career foreign service officer with the US Department of State and the US Information Agency, with postings in Indonesia, Germany, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and other countries. When he retired from the foreign service in 1980, he was chief inspector of the US Information Agency. Curtiss is author of *Changing Image: American Perspectives of the Arab-Israeli Dispute and Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for Control of US Middle East Policy*. He is currently Executive Director of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This article is reprinted from the Jan.-Feb. 1998 issue of *The Washington Report*.



President Harry Truman was warned by his top foreign policy advisers, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall, of grave long-term international problems if the United States backed the new Zionist state of Israel. Citing Jewish influence and pressure, Truman nevertheless decided in May 1948 to give US recognition and support to Israel.

"Overseas Volunteer Unit" to enable IDF personnel in essential civilian jobs to join their military units at the front. Emmanuel's Israeli father was a member of Menachem Begin's underground terrorist militia, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, and Rahm Emmanuel's uncle was killed while serving with Israeli forces in the 1948 war.

Nor is there anything particularly incongruous about the high percentage of top Jewish officials in the Clinton White House and foreign affairs establishment. In some other government departments, the situation differs only in the details.

Ironically, Secretary Donna Shalala of the Department of Health and Human Services is the only Arab American in the cabinet. But, according to HHS insiders, most of her second echelon officials, all White House appointees, are Jewish. So are a remarkably high percentage of top officials in the National Institutes of Health, which supervise hundreds of research grants at home and abroad.

A Similar Situation

At the Department of Commerce the situation is similar, even after the resignation of Secretary of

Commerce Mikey Kantor, a long-time pro-Israel activist and Clinton's 1992 election campaign manager. At the Pentagon and CIA, at political appointee levels (in contrast to career military and CIA officers), things are not that different.

Israelis consider Secretary of Defense William Cohen, a former Republican senator, Jewish, although he says he dropped out of the Jewish faith as a teenage. John Deutch, a CIA director in the first Clinton administration, also is Jewish, with close personal ties to Israel, including Israeli relatives and a residence there. Deutch is said to have resigned from the CIA position only because he was not appointed Secretary of Defense in the second Clinton administration.

The record of a staff meeting at Secretary Robert Rubin's Treasury Department early in the second Clinton administration shows that when top echelon leaders were discussing the best times to make announcements the Treasury does not want the American public to notice, one official said: "The time to do it is Christmas or Easter, since those are their two biggest holidays."

The "they" the official was speaking about in the apparently all-Jewish meeting were, of course, the 90 to 95 percent of US taxpayers who are of Christian heritage but who, in the Clinton administration, are so dramatically under-represented in top foreign policy-making positions.

This situation became so obvious early in the first Clinton administration that on September 2, 1994, Avinoam Bar-Yosef, Washington correspondent for *Ma'ariv*, Israel's most influential daily, wrote a lengthy and highly revealing report headlined, "The Jews in Clinton's Court." With the situation still further out of balance in the second administration, other Jewish journalists are reluctant to write about it further, and non-Jewish journalists are afraid to.

Outside the executive branch, both Clinton appointments to the nine-member Supreme Court are Jewish. In Congress some ten percent of senators are Jewish, as are 7.7 percent of the members of the House of Representatives. Yet no more than five million Americans describe themselves as Jewish, meaning less than two percent of a population of 260 million Americans.

Reactions to this astonishing imbalance between the governed and governing classes are mixed. Most Middle Easterners are aware of it and are baffled. The situation would be considered extremely dangerous in most of the Middle Eastern "mosaic societies" that endure in the wake of the vanished Ottoman empire. Minorities are represented in most governments in direct proportion to their percentage in the population.

In countries like Syria, where members of a Shi'i

Muslim minority dominate a Sunni Muslim majority, or Iraq, where the exact opposite is true, the situation is considered unstable and endures only because both governments have adopted harsh police state methods to punish unrest.

Europeans, who are belatedly becoming aware of the current US peculiarity, only shake their heads knowingly. They are quick to attribute the arrogance and vindictiveness that characterize current US foreign policy to the working out of old anti-European and anti-Arab hostilities by US officials pursuing a separate pro-Israel agenda. Politically sophisticated Europeans point out, off-the-record, that Israel-driven US policies ultimately could result in serious US reverses in many parts of the world.

Europeans almost unanimously (and perhaps hopefully) predict that such reverses ultimately will provide the catalyst for American anti-Semitism almost as virulent as that manifested in Germany before and during World War II, or the anti-Semitism which now lies barely below the surface in countries as diverse as France, Austria, Switzerland, Poland and Ukraine.

Americans seem less conscious of the imbalance within their own government because of the unwillingness of the mainstream US media to acknowledge that it exists. Negative reactions among US government officials who are aware of the situation are never expressed publicly — and only among trusted friends.

In fact the situation within the current administration is remarkably like that within the media a generation or two ago when American Jews assumed dominant roles in America's "elite" or "national" press. In 1980, during a Foreign Service Institute seminar with a rabbi from nearby George Washington University, the writer remarked on the preponderance of Jewish publishers, editors and investigative reporters on America's two "newspapers of record," *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and various national magazines. With no trace of defensiveness, the rabbi responded: "I used to think that too, but then I discovered that many of the media figures I had assumed were Jewish actually were not."

The writer pondered at length about what this could possibly mean. Perhaps that although many of the media elite then and now are of Jewish heritage, they aren't actual paid-up members of a synagogue? Using that sort of reasoning, one could unhesitatingly say that fewer than 50 percent of the American people are Christian. But of course, this "true" statement would be grossly misleading. Whatever his motives, the rabbi was fooling no one but himself.

The same is true of American public perception



Benjamin Netanyahu addresses the Israeli parliament in 1994 as Bill Clinton looks on.

of the present Jewish influence in Washington. Americans don't talk about it openly because it's politically incorrect to do so. But that doesn't mean they're not aware of it.

Remarked one retired foreign service officer to the writer, "The situation is so extraordinary and the misuse of his newly acquired Jewish power within the Clinton administration is so obvious, that it can't last. We are witnessing the peak of Jewish power in America right now. It has nowhere to go but down."

This is contested by Canadian-born former Mossad case worker Victor Ostrovsky, who was raised in Israel but returned to the land of his birth after he quit the Mossad in disgust. Things will not change soon in either the US or Canada, he predicts. In the name of helping Israel, North American Jews not only are consolidating the power they have quietly achieved, he insists, but also are steadily grasping for more. The long-term result, he says, will be such virulent anti-Semitism that most of what Jews have built for themselves in the New World will be swept away.

Nor, Ostrovsky predicts, would the Israelis, who are the catalyst for this self-destructive "overweening pride" among their American co-religionists, shed any tears over the downfall of their US backers. "The Israelis believe that all of these American Jews should have come to Israel as soon as it was created," Ostrovsky says. "Therefore, if they ultimately lose their privileged status in American life, it serves them right."

Ostrovsky says also that few Israelis worry about what will happen to their country if the hand of organized American Jewry is removed from the US foreign policy tiller. "It's the farthest thing from the minds of the Israelis," he says. "Illogical as it is, Israelis give their American cousins little or no credit for Israel's current secure place in the world. Therefore they don't worry at all about what will happen to Israel if American Jews lose their politi-

cal influence in Washington."

If Ostrovsky is correct in his assessment of his former Israeli compatriots, detachment from reality and overweening pride are not an American monopoly. In fact, the reckless over-confidence of Israel's Likud party prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, already has squandered most of the remarkable achievements of his two Labor party predecessors, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, in gaining acceptance of Israel by some 18 of the 22 members of the League of Arab States. Moreover, before he is through, Netanyahu's reckless arrogance may similarly undermine the remarkable achievements of Israel's dedicated supporters within the American Jewish community.

Guerriers d'Israël ("The Warriors of Israel"), are striking photographs of uniformed young Jewish men, members of the militantly Zionist "Betar" organization. Such groups were not only tolerated in Third Reich Germany, but were encouraged by the regime.

Other items in this issue deal with the elusive "gas chamber" at the Struthof-Natzweiler camp in French Alsace, and the emotion-laden question of differences of intelligence and behavior between races.

For further information, write: *L'Autre Histoire*, BP 3, 35134 Coesmes, Bretagne, France.

L'AUTRE HISTOIRE

Revue d'histoire publiée par l'ABRH
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Selon les souvenirs qu'Elie Wiesel, confié au *New York Times*, non seulement notre héros a merité son Nobel, mais aussi de figurer au livre des records actuels

Churchill trahit à Pearl Harbor page 25

Un livre passe sous silence par la presse apporte des éléments de preuve à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle les Britanniques auraient eu connaissance de l'attaque de la base de Pearl Harbor avant les Américains



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La Flandre est un des rares pays où le défilé libertaire des «hommes confessionniers» connaît encore quelques nombreuses fêtes. Ces espaces de liberté résiduels sont mis à profit par Siegfried Verbeke



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"A Marxist system typically spares criminals, while it also treats its political opponents as criminals."

— Solzhenitsyn

'Alternative History' in France

In France, a lively new revisionist history periodical *l'Autre Histoire* ("The Other History" or "Alternative History") is making a mark. Now in its third year of publication, a typical issue of this attractively laid out, richly illustrated, and intelligently written magazine-format periodical is 48 pages in length. Editor-publisher is Trystan Mordrel.

The June 1997 issue (No. 8) features an interview with David Irving along with a profile of the controversial British historian. It also includes a lengthy article on the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish Question" in Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries (translated and adapted from the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*), and a review-essay by Joseph Bishop about Roosevelt's efforts to provoke war with Japan (translated and adapted from the March-April 1996 *Journal*).

A typical issue includes several pages of readers' letters, a selection of brief news items, short reviews of new books, and summary descriptions of interesting periodicals around the world.

A humorous piece by Bradley Smith about Elie Wiesel, and an interview with the important European revisionist publisher Siegfried Verbeke, are featured in the October 1997 issue (No. 9), along with an essay by Jared Taylor on "race, lies and diversity" (translated from his *American Renaissance* newsletter).

The seven-page lead article in the August 1995 issue traces the little-known history of militant Zionist groups in Europe from the 1930s to the present, including the working alliance between National Socialism and Zionism during the 1930s. Accompanying the article, which is based on an impressive recent book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les*

“FAVORED RACES”

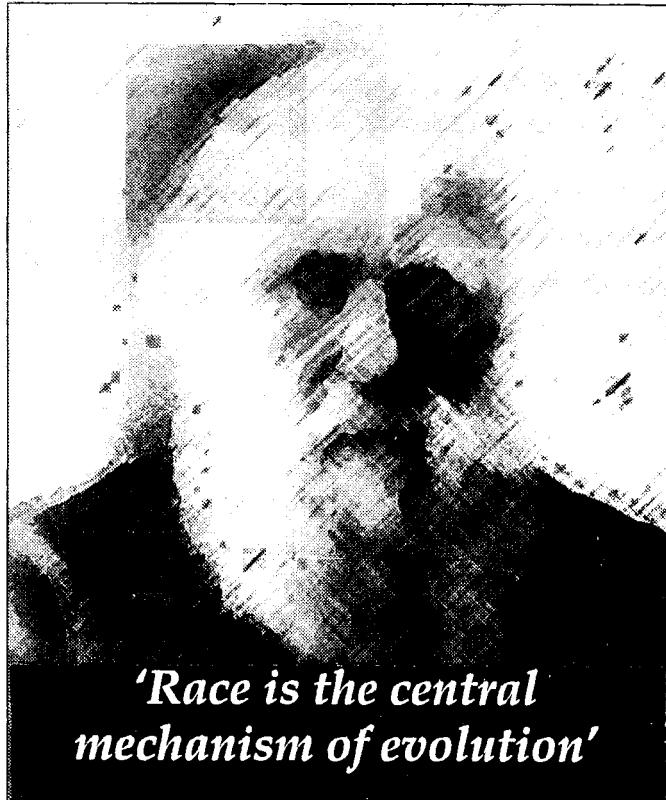
An excerpt from the “Eugenic Manifesto.”

*For a free copy of the “Eugenic Manifesto,” from which the below is an excerpt,
please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076*

The subtitle of Darwin's *Origin of Species* is “On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”* The human race has evolved to its present state of intelligence and power because of “the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”** “Race”* is the central mechanism of evolution that has created all living things. “The preservation of favored races”* is a simple process to understand, but its effects over time are awesome. If we examine the process, we find that at some stage in evolution we can observe a group of individuals of a single species which exist in an area segregated from other members of that same species. As a result of chance mutation, there occur genetic variations in some members of that segregated group. As the generations continue to reproduce, these genetic variations accumulate in the progeny of that segregated group. At first, the accumulated genetic variations do not make the segregated group different enough from the original species to justify calling the segregated group a new species or even a new “favored race”* of the original species. However, after many generations, the segregated group or tribe which had accumulated sufficient genetic differences would be called a new “race”* of the original species. Over time, these newly developed segregated races continue to accumulate genetic differences through chance mutation, variation, etc. The “favored”* variations increase the survivability of the “race”* which carries them.

Once this new “favored race”* has become different enough from the original species, it is called a new species. Hence the subtitle, “On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”* There is really no probability that the “races”* would be equal. In fact, the whole notion runs directly counter to all evolutionary theory and to the whole science of biology.

Given the laws of biology, it would be a great surprise if the average strength or intelligence of one “race”* was found to be exactly equal to the average strength or intelligence of a different “race.”* Despite the controversy surrounding “race,”* it is not particularly useful to know which “race”* happens, as the result of an accident of evolutionary development, to have greater average strength or greater average intelligence because one could not predict from this average that any particular individual member of one “race,” was going to be superior or inferior to any particular individual member of a different “race.”* There are superior and inferior, strong and weak, intelligent and unintelligent individuals in all “races.”* Regardless of “racial”* averages, one would still have to judge each individual on the basis of individual merit without reference to the average of the group to which he happened to belong. Only by judging people as individuals, could we avoid injustice and enable all people to make the maximum contribution to society. There is no such thing as a superior “race”* per se, in the sense that every member of one “race”* is superior to every member of another



‘Race is the central mechanism of evolution’

“race.”* Neither is there such a thing as “racial”* equality in the sense that the average strength or intelligence of one “race”* is equal to the average strength or intelligence of every other “race.”* By judging people as individuals, one could perhaps identify a (superior) sociobiological class which might be a cross section of all “races”* although probably not in equal proportion. The only way you could have a [superior race] would be if a “favored race”* evolved into and became the next more highly evolved species above homosapiens, in which case it would become a superior species. Eugenics is a moral commitment not a racial affiliation and any “race”* that adopted a eugenic program could, given sufficient time, evolve into and become the next more highly evolved species above homo-sapiens. It is our hope that all “races”* will accept that moral responsibility and accomplish that objective, but it can not be accomplished within the political, philosophical and religious milieu of the 20th century.

**Origin Of Species*, CHARLES DARWIN

For a free copy of the “Eugenic Manifesto,” from which the above is an excerpt, please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076, U.S.A.

'The More Things Change ...'

Will Rogers on American 'Moral Leadership' and Foreign Adventurism

Until his death in an airplane crash in 1935, Will Rogers delighted Americans with his witty and astute commentary on social and political issues of the day. The following excerpts from his syndicated newspaper columns and radio broadcasts between 1925 and 1935 were compiled by Bryan B. Sterling and Frances N. Sterling, who have published eight books and a play about the "cowboy philosopher." This collection of excerpts first appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1996.

Europe has got a thing that America always falls for, and that's when they tell us they want our "moral leadership." That's almost like telling an old man he's got sex appeal. It's a line of bunk that this country falls for and always has. Our delegates swell out their chests and really believe that the world is just hanging by a thread.

It has just become almost impossible for a country to have a nice, home-talent little revolution among themselves, without us butting into it. But here we go again. If we ever pass out as a great nation, we ought to put on our tombstone: "America died from a delusion that she had moral leadership."

Now you can't pick up a paper without reading where our Marines have landed to keep some nations from shooting each other, and if necessary we shoot them to keep them from shooting each other. America has a great habit of always talking about protecting American interests in some foreign country. Protect them here at home. There are more American interests right here than anywhere. What would we say if the Chinese was to send a gunboat up the Mississippi?



Those little Balkan nations, they are like a mess of stray terriers anyhow, they just as well be fighting. I remember when I was over in Europe in the summer of '26, why, they were growling at each other like fat prima donnas on the same opera bill. I hit upon a half dozen of those Balkan nations and Yugoslavia. Now did you know they got their two bands of people, called the Serbians and the Croats? Well, the Croats, they say they are downtrodden. The one thing their whole country is united in, is that they hate Italy.

Now Serbia, she don't want to lose her reputation — they want to go down in history as having started all the wars. You see, the whole mess of 'em, they have no more love for each other than a litter of hyenas. They either lost or gained territory during a war, and they feel — those that did gain — that in another war they could grab off even more, and the ones that lost can't see how they could possibly make that mistake again. You see, you can't just sit down and cut out a nation on the map. You don't know how many people in any country are pulling for a revolution, for they have a great amount of dissatisfied people in them. The more nations you create, the more chances you have of war. That's self-disintegration of small nations.

You know, we haven't got any business in those far-away wars. Seven thousand miles is a long way to go to shoot somebody, especially if you are not right sure they need shooting, and you are not sure whether you are shooting the right side or not. You see, it's their war and they have a right to fight it as they see fit, without any advice from us.

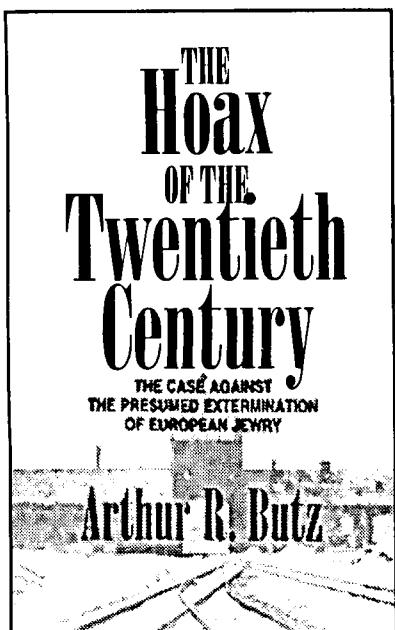
When we start out trying to make everybody have moral elections, why, it just don't look like we are going to have Marines enough to go Round 1. Why, if it wasn't for the movies picturing Marines going from one country to another, we would never know what they looked like. I had an unusual experience the other day — I seen a Marine in America.

If we keep our nose clean and don't start yapping about somebody else's honor or what our moral obligations are, we might not get dragged into it. But it's going to take better statesmanship than we have been favored with heretofore.

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which

do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its tenth US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century

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Probing Look at 'Capital Punishment Industry' Affirms Expertise of Auschwitz Investigator Leuchter

The Execution Protocol: Inside America's Capital Punishment Industry, by Stephen Trombley. Hardcover. New York: Crown, 1992. (Softcover. New York: Anchor Books, 1993.) 342 pages. Photographs. Index.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

When French professor Robert Faurisson and other revisionist skeptics first began asking tough questions about how, precisely, the infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz were built and operated, defenders of the Holocaust story responded by declaring that such inquiries were simply not permissible. In a statement issued in February 1979, and published in the prominent French daily *Le Monde*, a group of 34 French intellectuals boldly declared: "The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers."

While the Holocaust lobby was suppressing awkward questions about the principal murder weapon used in what is said to be history's greatest crime, skeptics organized their own forensic investigations. The first and most important of these was conducted in February 1988 by an American execution hardware specialist named Fred Leuchter.

In April 1988 Leuchter testified under oath about his investigation and findings at the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-born publisher Ernst Zündel. In a document that is now widely known simply as *The Leuchter Report*, he laid out his findings in detail, explaining each step of his on-site investigation. "It is the best engineering opinion of this author," his *Report* concluded, "that the alleged gas chambers at the inspected sites could not have then been, or now be, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers."

Leuchter's findings, which have been subsequently confirmed by other independent forensic investigators, shatter the keystone of the Holocaust legend — the Auschwitz gassing story.

With many tens of thousands of copies of *The Leuchter Report* in circulation around the world, in all the major languages, and through speeches (including addresses at the IHR Conferences of

1989, 1990 and 1992), the impact of this one man's work has been tremendous.

Damage Control

Alarmed by this, the "Never Forgive, Never Forget" brigade wasted no time taking counter-measures. "Nazi hunter" Beate Klarsfeld announced that Fred Leuchter "has to understand that in denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished."

Jewish organizations launched a vicious smear campaign to destroy his reputation and ability to make a living. Leading the charge was Shelly Shapiro and her group, "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice," which called Leuchter a fraud and imposter, claiming he lacked qualifications as an execution equipment specialist. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 421-492.)

With the cooperation of mainstream journalists and editors, this campaign was successful. Leuchter's contracts with state governments to manufacture, install and service execution hardware were cancelled, and he was driven into semi-hiding, forced from his home in Massachusetts to take up private work elsewhere. No American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby.

Incontestable Expertise

In spite of the widely disseminated lies about his competence, the facts are incontestable. A feature article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 1990), for example, factually described Leuchter as

the nation's only commercial supplier of execution equipment... A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems...

Similarly, a lengthy *New York Times* article (Oct. 13, 1990), complete with a front-page photo of Leuchter, called him "the nation's leading adviser on capital punishment."

An In-Depth Look

The most detailed treatment of Leuchter and his career is provided in *The Execution Protocol*, a

examination of the US system of capital punishment by an English-born writer and film-maker who lives in Los Angeles and London. This disturbing but fascinating book is based on extensive interviews with individuals on both sides of what author Stephen Trombley calls "America's Capital Punishment Industry."

The book's prominent treatment of Leuchter relies heavily on a lengthy interview with him at his home and workplace near Boston. Included are photographs showing Leuchter by the control module of his lethal injection machine, and pictures of an electric chair and an lethal injection apparatus he built.

Refuting the main lies that have been spread about him, Trombley confirms (p. 9) that Leuchter is, in fact, "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware. His products include electric chairs, gas chambers, gallows, and lethal injection machines. He offers design, construction, installation, staff training and maintenance." Leuchter also has a number of impressive inventions to his credit, Trombley notes (pp. 35, 71), including a "modular electric chair — the most advanced ever built," and the lethal injection machine "by which executions are now carried out in five states."

Trombley takes a close look at each of five methods of execution that are used in the three dozen states where capital crimes are punished by death: lethal injection, electric chair, gas chamber, firing squad and hanging. Tracing the history and problems of each method, he explains in grim detail just how things can go wrong in an execution. As it happens, quite a few executions are botched, resulting in deaths that are painful for the prisoner and terrifying for witnesses.

If the rope used to hang a prisoner is not just the right length, thickness or strength, the prisoner can slowly and painfully strangle to death (rather than die instantly with a broken neck). In some botched cases the prisoner is decapitated, or the rope snaps, causing the terrified but still conscious prisoner to plunge to the ground. Firing squads sometimes miss the target pinned to the prisoner's heart, causing him to slowly bleed to death. Even under ideal conditions, firing squad executions are messy. An improperly built or maintained electric chair will literally fry the condemned prisoner, causing excruciating pain. Gas chamber executions are especially likely to be botched, with the condemned prisoner dying in painful, drawn out agony.

Gas Chamber Dangers

Killing someone in a gas chamber is very dangerous for those who carry out the execution, above all because the body of the dead prisoner is saturated with lethal gas. After the execution, explains Leuchter (p. 98), "You go in. The inmate has to be



Fred Leuchter at the 1992 IHR Conference

completely washed down with chlorine bleach or with ammonia. The poison exudes right out through his skin. And if you gave the body to an undertaker, you'd *kill* the undertaker. You've got to go in, you've got to completely wash the body."

Bill Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, confirms the danger (p. 102): "One of the things that cyanide gas does, it goes in the pores of your skin. You hose the body down, see. You have to use rubber gloves, and you hose the body down to decontaminate it before you do anything [else]." (Armontrout also testified as an expert witness in the 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto, confirming Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost gas chamber specialist.)

Gas chambers shouldn't be used at all, says Leuchter (p. 13): "They're dangerous. They're dangerous to the people who have to use them, and they're dangerous for the witnesses. They ought to take all of them and cut them in half with a chain saw and get rid of them." Of the five execution methods used in the United States, he prefers electrocution because it is the least painful, least problem prone, and least costly.

With a career built on the motto "Capital punishment, not capital torture," Leuchter takes pride in his work. He is glad to be able to ensure that condemned prisoners die painlessly, that the personnel who carry out executions are not endangered, and that taxpayer dollars are saved.



Stephen Trombley

Fair Treatment

Trombley reports with remarkable fairness on Leuchter's investigations of "gas chambers" at the sites of wartime camps, his testimony in the 1988 Zündel trial, and the campaign against him, including his arrest and expulsion from Britain in November 1991.

Writing with praiseworthy restraint, Trombley volunteers no opinion of his own about Leuchter's controversial investigations on Zündel's behalf, or his motives in speaking out on this emotion-laden issue, but instead permits the execution hardware expert to speak for himself. Leuchter told the author that he when he agreed to carry out the Auschwitz investigation for Zündel, "he fully expected to find evidence of gas chambers" and "was surprised that he didn't." (p. 93)

In response to the author's question, "Do you believe that the Holocaust happened?", Leuchter said (p. 94):

I believed there had been a Holocaust. I believed I would find gas chambers. I told Ernst Zündel — he was positive I wouldn't find them — I told him that if I did find them, or even that [if] these facilities had the capability of being gas chambers, I was going to report such. I was like most Americans and probably most people all over the world, they believed that it happened. I believed what I'd been taught in school. I know that the facilities that everybody points to weren't gas chambers.

I think probably there was a Holocaust, but I think it depends upon how one defines "Holocaust." There are serious questions that have to be asked and answered about that whole period in our history ...

Because the author was sloppy in checking facts, this book is not without defects. A good example is the way he confuses British historian David Irving

with French scholar Robert Faurisson (pp. 84-85). Trombley tells readers that Irving

had long maintained that a study of executions by lethal gas in the United States would help to "prove" that the Nazi gas chambers never existed. He argued that American prisons are the only place where cyanide gas has been used to kill human beings deliberately; and that American prison wardens who have carried out gas executions could be important sources of evidence which could disprove the Holocaust "myth."

Trombley goes on to assert that Irving contacted Leuchter to carry out the investigation for the Zündel trial. In fact, it was Faurisson who had long stressed the importance of US gas chambers in understanding the alleged wartime German gas facilities. And it was Faurisson, not Irving, who first established contact with Leuchter in early 1988.

Trombley also asserts that *The Leuchter Report* has been published in the United States by the "Institute for Historical Research" (p. 87). While it is true that the Institute for Historical *Review* distributes the *Report*, it is actually published by others.

In spite of such flaws, this well written and balanced work performs an important service, not least because it authoritatively establishes that Fred Leuchter was indeed "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware" at the time he carried out his forensic on-site investigation of the Auschwitz "gas chambers." *The Execution Protocol* thus vindicates Leuchter and those who have defended him, and debunks the most mendacious of the Holocaust lobby's many lies about him.

Hostility Toward Damaging Truth

... Men seek to avoid being deceived less than they seek to avoid being injured by deception. They detest illusion not so much as the noxious consequences of certain types of illusion. In a similar, limited sense, men also want the truth; they welcome agreeable, life-sustaining consequences of truth, are indifferent toward pure knowledge that brings no consequences, and are downright hostile toward possibly damaging and destructive truth."

— Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne* ("On Truth and Falsehood in the Extra-Moral Sense"), 1873.

A Revealing But Flawed Look at Jewish Political Clout

Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment, by Jonathan J. Goldberg. Addison-Wesley, 1996. Hardcover. 436 pages. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Shawn L. Twing

Jewish Power, by J. J. Goldberg, is an insider's eye-opening and often startlingly frank discussion of Jewish influence in American politics, and an examination of the historical factors that have made that influence possible. What is extraordinary about *Jewish Power* is the blatant double standard it illustrates. Had the same book been written by a non-Jewish author, it would certainly have been dismissed as the product of anti-Semitic bias and a predisposition for conspiracy theories. Supporting this assertion are several notable examples.

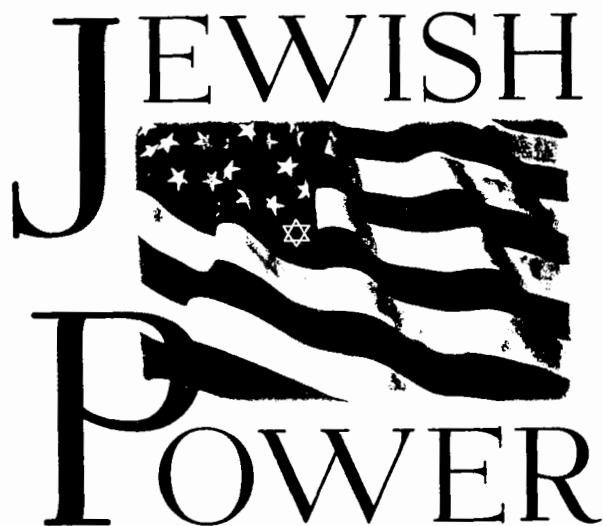
In chapter 9, "I Am Joseph Your Brother: Jews and Public Office," Goldberg discusses the presence of several Jewish Americans in key political positions, and how their religious/ethnic identity has affected their performance on the job. Of particular interest were the Bush administration officials in charge of the Middle East peace process under Secretary of State James Baker. Describing Dennis Ross, Aaron David Miller and Daniel Kurtzer of the State Department, and Richard Haass of the National Security Council as "Baker's Jewish peace team" (p. 231), Goldberg points out that "Haass was educated in a Reform [Judaism] congregation," that "Ross, Miller, and Kurtzer all were active synagogue goers," and that "Miller and Kurtzer both maintained kosher homes and sent their children to Jewish parochial schools." Does being Jewish affect their performance on the job? One of the four, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said, "We act in America's interest, but through a prism."

Double Standard

These same words, reported by a non-Jew, certainly would have evoked charges of anti-Semitism, and would have made it difficult to get the book published, much less distributed. Analyzing the motives of prominent Jews in politics, or even commenting on their religious identity, simply is unacceptable for non-Jews, a double standard that

Shawn L. Twing is news editor of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This review is reprinted from the June-July 1997 issue of *The Washington Report*.

J.J. GOLDBERG



Inside the
American Jewish
Establishment

makes it increasingly difficult to communicate frankly.

Nevertheless, the fact that Baker created an entirely Jewish peace process team also is significant in Goldberg's eyes. Two members of that team, Dennis Ross and Aaron David Miller, were held over to lead the Clinton administration's efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, along with US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

If indeed they view their jobs "through a prism," is it reasonable to assume that the United States really is an "honest broker" for peace? Imagine, if you can, the reaction that would follow an announcement that, for its second term, the Clinton administration was appointing a Middle East peace process team comprising entirely Muslim Arab Americans: American Muslim Council executive director Abdurahman Alamoudi, Council on American Islamic Relations executive director Nihad Awad and president Mohammed Mehdi of the National Council on Islamic Affairs.

In fact the comparison is particularly apt because of the present team, US Ambassador to

Israel Martin Indyk is a former official of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and a founder and first executive director of AIPAC's think-tank spin-off, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and Ross is a former fellow of that Institute. Even author Goldberg seems baffled at why all of the top members of America's Middle East peace team must be not only Jewish, but also closely identified personally with Israel and its myriad of supporting organizations in the national capital.

Some of Goldberg's statements describing the political clout of AIPAC, Israel's all-powerful Washington, DC, lobby, and other organizations representing organized American Jewry, also very likely would be challenged if made by a non-Jewish author. For example:

- "there have been threats to those in Washington who opposed Israeli policy: the senators and representatives sent down to defeat, like Charles Percy and Paul Findley, for defying the Jewish lobby" (p. 5)

- "AIPAC offered Jewish activists access to genuine power, rubbing shoulders with senators and representatives and bullying the White House" (p. 224)

- "[AIPAC] activists learn to 'bundle' donations, extracting campaign contributions from friends, relatives, and co-workers, and delivering them to the candidate in a bundle so as to make a stronger impression" (p. 224)

- "It is one of the worst-kept secrets in American Jewish politics that the campaign contribution is a major key to Jewish power" (p. 266)

- "The most notorious use of Jewish campaign money is not to support candidates who have been friendly, but to oppose those who have been unfriendly. On several occasions in recent years, pro-Israel activists have mobilized from around the country to defeat a lawmaker who crossed some line regarding Israel" (p. 269)

- "Defeating [Sen. Charles] Percy for re-election in 1984 became virtually a national crusade among pro-Israel activists" (p. 270)

All of these things have been reported by the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* and other media, yet they are denied routinely by pro-Israel activists, who dismiss such statements as conspiratorial and anti-Semitic. That Goldberg documents them convincingly, and in context, is useful in itself. It also validates non-Jews who have reported these facts for years. The difference, however, is that Goldberg apparently sees nothing wrong with AIPAC's actions.

Goldberg makes a factual error in reference to a lawsuit brought first against AIPAC in 1988 and later against the US Federal Election Commission's handling of AIPAC by seven retired government

officials, including *Washington Report* publisher Andrew I. Killgore and executive editor Richard H. Curtiss. Goldberg writes on page 268 that the case was "dismissed for lack of evidence." In fact, only the case's complaint against 27 political action committees established and directed by AIPAC was dropped. The remainder of the case against AIPAC resulted in an FEC decision that although AIPAC was functioning as a "political committee," since electioneering was not AIPAC's principle function the FEC would not force it to comply with the disclosure laws that such committees must observe. Subsequently, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled 8-2 on December 6 [1996] that the FEC must enforce its own rules against AIPAC. Rather than having the marathon case against it dismissed, therefore, AIPAC appears to have lost the suit, and may have to open its receipts and expenditures to FEC scrutiny, something AIPAC has vowed never to do.

Media Influence

Another controversial topic Goldberg addresses is Jewish influence in the American media. In chapter 11, entitled "We Have Met the Enemy and It is Us: Jews and the Media," he writes (p. 280):

Jews are represented in the media business in numbers far out of proportion to their share of the population. Studies have shown that while Jews make up little more than five percent of the working press nationwide — hardly more than their share of the population — they make up one fourth or more of the writers, editors, and producers in America's "elite media," including network news divisions, the top news-weeklies and the four leading daily papers (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*)

Goldberg points out, however, that American Jewish activists describe the media as "a major source of anti-Jewish bias" (p. 280). Goldberg devotes the rest of the chapter to reconciling the contradictory themes of pro-Israel and anti-Israel bias, and in so doing provides penetrating insights into the question of Jewish influence in America's media.

"The case for pro-Jewish bias rests largely on the work of a handful of influential writers who regularly take it upon themselves to defend Jews and Israel and to attack their enemies," Goldberg writes (on page 290). The "short list" of those writers, according to Goldberg, includes *New York Times* columnists William Safire and A.M. Rosenthal, and Richard Cohen of *The Washington Post*.

Indicative of their "verbal firepower," according to Goldberg, was a 1993 column by Safire, whom Goldberg describes as "one of the best connected and

most feared members of the Washington press corps," that "sank the nomination of Admiral Bobby Inman as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, largely by accusing Inman of being anti-Israel" (p. 290). Because Goldberg does not elaborate, it is worth quoting two sentences from the February-March 1994 *Washington Report* (p. 28) that fill in the details:

Bill Safire wrote in a column published in *The New York Times* on Dec. 23 that Bobby Ray Inman had restricted information available to Israel from US intelligence agencies, had fingered Israel as the source of the false "Libyan Hit Squad" story that turned the White House and key government agencies into fortified bunkers, and had supplied the information for then Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's stern assessment for the sentencing judge of the extent of damage caused US intelligence agencies and agents by convicted spy Jonathan Jay Pollard. From the moment they read Safire's column, Israel's apologists in the US media knew what to do.

Although the story itself is not new, Goldberg's frank discussion of the power of a Safire column to "sink" a cabinet-level nomination simply by accusing the nominee of hostility to Israel, is both enlightening and frightening. Goldberg makes it clear that this "Jewish power," in his own words, is tangible political power recognized both by those who oppose it and those who wield it

In his discussion of Jews in the media, Goldberg repeatedly refers to Israel's "warts," a peculiar term he uses to describe the country's darker side. In the reviewer's opinion, Goldberg's casual use of the word is subtly misleading. "Warts" are merely cosmetic afflictions, but confiscating Palestinian land, razing Palestinian homes, legalized torture, military attacks against civilian populations, and other examples of systematic brutality by Israelis against their Arab neighbors might more accurately be described as a "cancer" within the body of the young nation.

In the final analysis, Goldberg's *Jewish Power* is both well-written and informative. His thesis is that although the organized American Jewish community has grown extraordinarily powerful, individual US Jews still see their community as weak and ineffective. The examples he provides, and the matter-of-fact tone he adopts to make his points, are more than convincing.

Goldberg devotes the prologue to *Jewish Power* to George Bush's now famous Sept. 12, 1991, speech to the American public urging Congress to postpone granting Israel's request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees. Bush hoped to link them to a moratorium on Jewish settlements in occupied territories

and to Israeli participation in the upcoming Madrid conference. When he came under intense pressure from the pro-Israel lobby and members of Congress to acquiesce to Israel's request immediately and unconditionally, Bush took his case directly to the American people. In an unprecedented speech on national television, he explained: "I heard today there were something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working on the other side of the question," and that he was only "one little guy down here" trying to work against what he described as "some powerful forces."

While Goldberg details the Jewish community's overwhelmingly negative reaction to the president's remarks, he seems curiously oblivious to Bush's supporters, suggesting they are drawn solely from the extremist fringe. "By Monday morning's mail, the president had accumulated a small mound of Jew-bashing congratulations," Goldberg writes, charging that the president inadvertently "had touched an unforeseen chord in the American heartland." What Goldberg neglects to mention in his book, however, is that public opinion polls immediately after Bush's speech showed that 86 percent of the American public supported the president, a reaction hardly confined to the political fringes.

For all of its merits, it is unfortunate that Goldberg's book does not address some cruder exercises of power by some American Jewish leaders. Examples are the often venomous criticism of journalists and others who report serious Israeli abuses of human rights, and the practice of labeling such critics "anti-Semites" if they are not Jewish, and "self-haters" if they are. Such silencing of objective political, journalistic and academic discussion of US support for Israel, and its consequences for American national interests, does not serve freedom of speech in the United States. Nor, in the long run, does it serve the best interests of Israel or the American Jewish community.

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Letters

The Larger Picture

The recent Iraq crisis, with the Clinton administration's zealous campaign to persuade everyone of the need for military action against that Arab country, is helping many Americans better to see the larger picture. I find that people are asking questions and saying things that would have been unthinkable a few years ago. Everywhere, it seems, people are challenging, with increasing fervor, the whole rotten edifice of Zionism and our relationship with Israel, along with the many lies on which they are built.

Although I pray that the Clinton administration does not unleash the full fury of modern high-tech weaponry against the helpless people of Iraq, perhaps such a slaughter might at least help everyone see much more clearly just how beholden our political leaders have become to alien interests.

J.M.
New York City

A Relief

I am an independent scholar, and my main field is 20th-century Germany. Seeking information about the Nazi period, I joined several H-lists [Internet e-mail discussion forums], including H-Holocaust (which is where I found your URL [Internet address]).

I finally quit it, sending a rather acerbic message to the list administrator about calling this a "scholarly" list. Actually, it was nothing but diatribes, *ad hominem* attacks against anyone who dares say anything good about anything German, and so forth. It was really horrible. I began to wonder about the motivation of those who so harshly demand that everyone agree with them or be branded Evil (anti-Semitic), who forever hound and want to punish

the Germans, and, in short, who endlessly promote hatred in a world already full of it — and to what end?

Anyway, I had my fill of that nonsense, and resigned from that revolting list. I also decided to look into what they are so afraid of — that is, your information. Coming across your Web page was a relief! Lo and behold, I find that your information more closely fits with the conclusions I had been reaching through my own research.

For years I had bought into the "official" propaganda line, which requires that one never argue with Jews about Holocaust matters, but instead bow dutifully to all the hatred they promulgate in the name of "How We Suffered." Because of their sufferings half a century ago, they insist on all sorts of exemptions and special privileges. I found it amazing that Germany itself makes revisionism a crime, and even awards prizes and honors to authors (such as Daniel Goldhagen) who spew hatred against Germans.

M.S.
[by Internet]
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

A New Taboo for a New Era

Goldwin Smith's essay, "The Vexing 'Jewish Question,'" [Jan.-Feb. 1998 *Journal*] may strike some readers as astonishing in its frankness. But such forthright writing on this now taboo-laden subject was not at all unusual 80-90 years ago. Until the 1930s, prominent scholars were still relatively free to write candidly of the Jewish role in society.

For example, one contemporary of Smith who expressed similar views on this subject was John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Among other works, this respected histo-

rian was the author of the *Cyclopedia of Universal History* as well as an impressive nine-volume scholarly work, *Ridpath's History of the World*, published in Cincinnati in 1910.

In his *History of the World* (vol. 9, pp. 208-09) Ridpath wrote:

The Jew has become the money lender *par excellence* of the civilized world. Not in one country only, but in all nations, he has discovered the sovereignty of gold, and has availed himself of this knowledge to an extent which is but dimly understood, even by publicists and historians ... His control of the money supply and distribution is hardly any longer disputed in any of the capitals of Europe or America ... The Hebrew has his monarchy. It is the kingdom of gold ... He is the emperor of mankind ...

The monarchy of money is under the almost absolute dominion of the Jewish race.

Since the Second World War, and at least in large part as a consequence of the outcome of that terrible conflict, it has become nearly impossible for "respectable" scholars to write frankly, much less critically, about the enduring problem of relations in society between Jews and non-Jews. Instead, everyone is now more or less obliged to start from the premise that anti-Jewish sentiment is irrational and unrelated to Jewish behavior.

E. Svedlund
Seattle

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A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

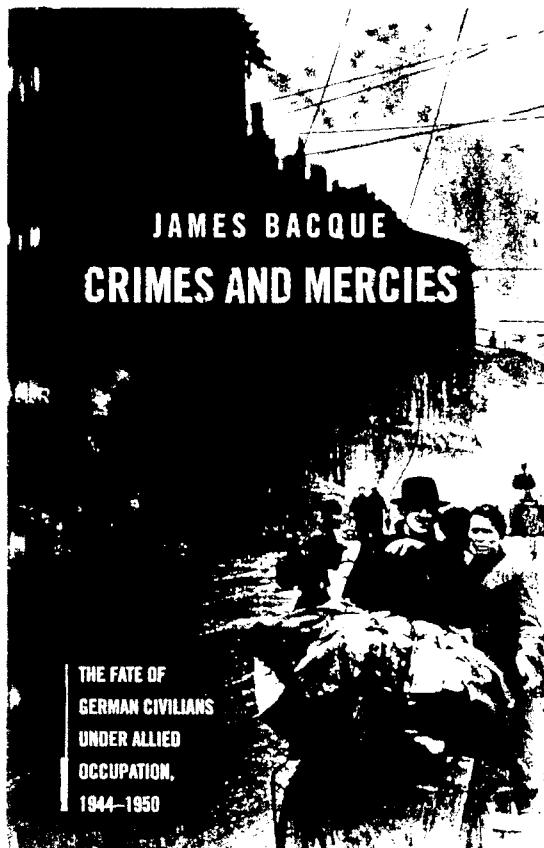
In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

Crimes and Mercies — a handsome hardcover work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.

Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.



Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees*, provides a valuable foreword.

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The Book 'They' Don't Want You to See!



**Defying an international censorship campaign,
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This stunning new biography made headlines around the world in April when one of America's most prominent publishers — succumbing to what the London *Times* called "prolonged protests from Jewish pressure groups" — broke its contract and halted publication. Before it gave in to a vicious campaign that included death threats, St. Martin's Press was praising *Goebbels* as "monumental in scope ... insightful ... draws on masses of previously unpublished materials ... Masterful ... masterpiece of research as well as a compelling story ..."

The *New York Times Book Review* calls this a "Rolls Royce" of a book, "filled with costly color photographs" and written in "lively and compelling" prose.

Now you can enjoy your own copy of Irving's brilliant product of seasoned scholarship and gifted writing. You'll treasure this sumptuous 740-page hardcover masterpiece, with more than a hundred photos, many in full color.

Typical of the grudging praise that *Goebbels* and Irving have been receiving in Britain is the commentary of George Stern in the *Literary Review*:

As with his books on Hitler and Göring, Irving tries to show how events looked to Goebbels. He is the first to use Goebbels' full diary, 75,000 pages, recently found in Moscow. He has interviewed many people, including surviving Nazis, and has used innumerable memoirs and diaries. The result is unique, as though Goebbels had a video recorder on his shoulder... Irving supplies well over a hundred photographs, some as sharp and as colourful as if they were taken yesterday ... Irving's trademark research into original manuscripts is uniquely impressive.

In his *Daily Telegraph* review, British historian John Keegan wrote:

David Irving knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War. He discovers archives unknown to official historians and turns their contents into densely footnoted narratives that consistently provoke controversy ... His greatest achievement is *Hitler's War*, which has been described as 'the autobiography the Führer did not write' and is indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round. Now he has turned his attention to Joseph Goebbels ... The result is a characteristic Irving book: 530 pages of text and 160 pages of relentless references ...

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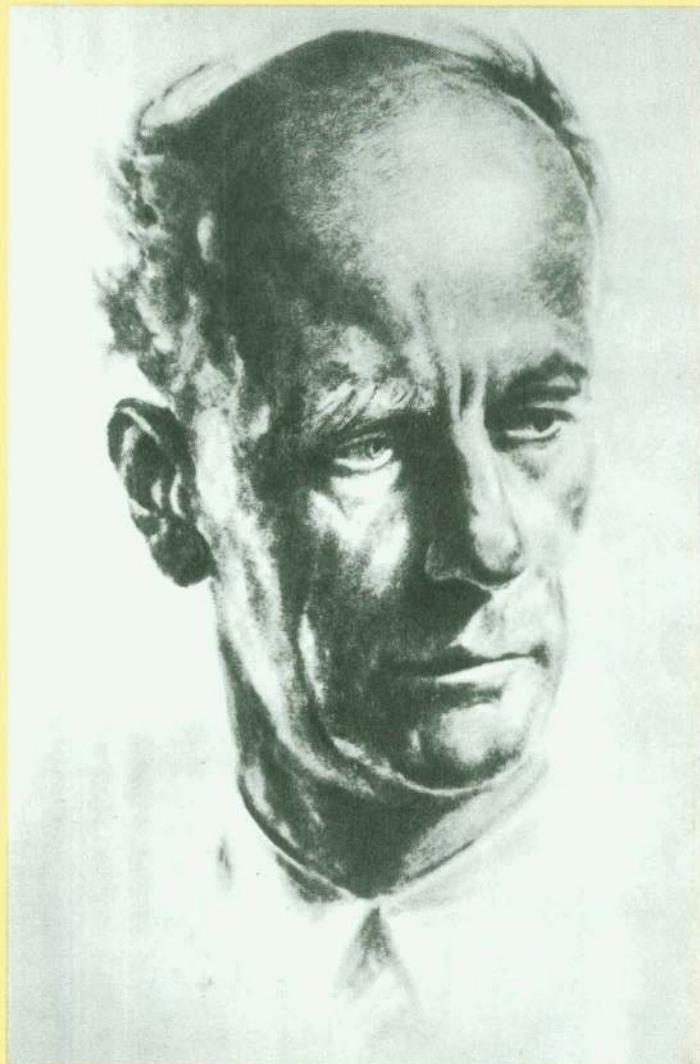
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**Furtwängler and Music in
Third Reich Germany**

Antony Charles

Life Styles: Native and Imposed

Kevin Beary

The Papon Trial

Robert Faurisson

Sagal's 'Denial'

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A New Revisionist Quarterly

— Review essay —

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MacDonald details how Jews engage in stunning self-deception regarding both the nature of Jewry and non-Jewish responses to Jewry.

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Wilhelm Furtwängler and Music in the Third Reich

ANTONY CHARLES

Not only during his lifetime, but also in the decades since his death in 1954, Wilhelm Furtwängler has been globally recognized as one of the greatest musicians of this century, above all as the brilliant primary conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra, which he lead from 1922 to 1945, and again after 1950. On his death, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* commented: "By temperament a Wagnerian, his restrained dynamism, superb control of his orchestra and mastery of sweeping rhythms also made him an outstanding exponent of Beethoven." Furtwängler was also a composer of merit.

Underscoring his enduring greatness have been several recent in-depth biographies and a successful 1996 Broadway play, "Taking Sides," that portrays his postwar "denazification" purgatory, as well as steadily strong sales of CD recordings of his performances (some of them available only in recent years). Furtwängler societies are active in the United States, France, Britain, Germany and other countries. His overall reputation, however, especially in America, is still a controversial one.

Following the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933, some prominent musicians — most notably such Jewish artists as Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer and Arnold Schoenberg — left Germany. Most of the nation's musicians, however, including the great majority of its most gifted musical talents, remained — and even flourished. With the possible exception of the composer Richard Strauss, Furtwängler was the most prominent musician to stay and "collaborate."

Consequently, discussion of his life — even today — still provokes heated debate about the role of art and artists under Hitler and, on a more fundamental level, about the relationship of art and politics.

A Non-Political Patriot

Wilhelm Furtwängler drew great inspiration from his homeland's rich cultural heritage, and his world revolved around music, especially German music. Although essentially non-political, he was an

Antony Charles is the pen name of an educator and writer who holds both a master's and a doctoral degree in history. He has taught history and is the author of several books. A resident of North Carolina, he currently works for a government agency.

ardent patriot, and leaving his fatherland was simply out of the question.

Ideologically he may perhaps be best characterized as a man of the "old" Germany — a Wilhelmine conservative and an authoritarian elitist. Along with the great majority of his countrymen, he welcomed the demise of the ineffectual democratic regime of Germany's "Weimar republic" (1918-1933). Indeed, he was the conductor chosen to direct the gala performance of Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" for the "Day of Potsdam," a solemn state ceremony on March 21, 1933, at which President von Hindenburg, the youthful new Chancellor Adolf Hitler and the newly-elected Reichstag formally ushered in the new government of "national awakening." All the same, Furtwängler never joined the National Socialist Party (unlike his chief musical rival, fellow conductor Herbert von Karajan).

It wasn't long before Furtwängler came into conflict with the new authorities. In a public dispute in late 1934 with Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels over artistic direction and independence, he resigned his positions as director of the Berlin Philharmonic and as head of the Berlin State Opera. Soon, however, a compromise agreement was reached whereby he resumed his posts, along with a measure of artistic independence. He was also able to exploit both his prestigious position and the artistic and jurisdictional rivalries between Goebbels and Göring to play a greater and more independent role in the cultural life of Third Reich Germany.

From then on, until the Reich's defeat in the spring of 1945, he continued to conduct to much acclaim both at home and abroad (including, for example, a highly successful concert tour of Britain in 1935). He was also a guest conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, 1939-1940, and at the Bayreuth Festival. On several occasions he led concerts in support of the German war effort. He also nominally served as a member of the Prussian State Council and as vice-president of the "Reich Music Chamber," the state-sponsored professional musicians' association.

Throughout the Third Reich era, Furtwängler's eminent influence on Europe's musical life never diminished.

Cultural Vitality

For Americans conditioned to believe that nothing of real cultural or artistic merit was produced in

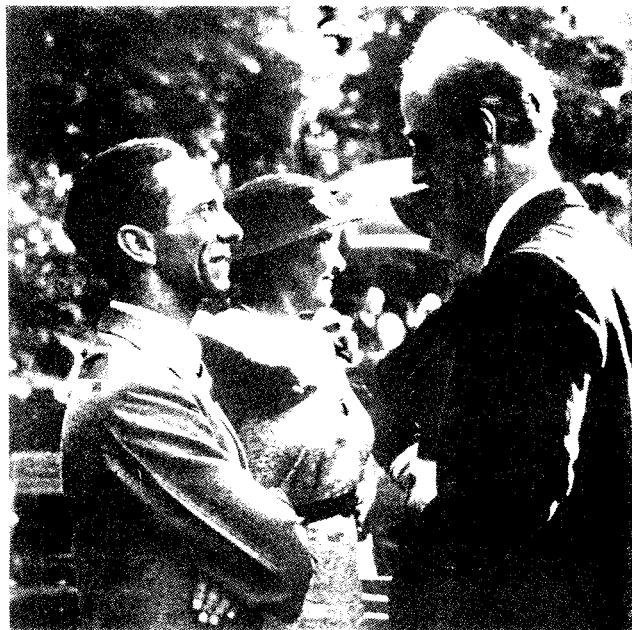
Germany during the Hitler era, the phrase "Nazi art" is an oxymoron — a contradiction in terms. The reality, though, is not so simple, and it is gratifying to note that some progress is being made to set straight the historical record.

This is manifest, for example, in the publication in recent years of two studies that deal extensively with Furtwängler, and which generally defend his conduct during the Third Reich: *The Devil's Music Master* by Sam Shirakawa [reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 41-43] and *Trial of Strength* by Fred K. Prieberg. These revisionist works not only contest the widely accepted perception of the place of artists and arts in the Third Reich, they express a healthy striving for a more factual and objective understanding of the reality of National Socialist Germany.

Prieberg's *Trial of Strength* concentrates almost entirely on Furtwängler's intricate dealings with Goebbels, Göring, Hitler and various other figures in the cultural life of the Third Reich. In so doing, he demonstrates that in spite of official measures to "coordinate" the arts, the regime also permitted a surprising degree of artistic freedom. Even the anti-Jewish racial laws and regulations were not always applied with rigor, and exceptions were frequent. (Among many instances that could be cited, Leo Blech retained his conducting post until 1937, in spite of his Jewish ancestry.) Furtwängler exploited this situation to intervene successfully in a number of cases on behalf of artists, including Jews, who were out of favor with the regime. He also championed Paul Hindemith, a "modern" composer whose music was regarded as degenerate.

The artists and musicians who left the country (especially the Jewish ones) contended that without them, Germany's cultural life would collapse. High culture, they and other critics of Hitler and his regime arrogantly believed, would wither in an ardently nationalist and authoritarian state. As Prieberg notes: "The musicians who emigrated or were thrown out of Germany from 1933 onwards indeed felt they were irreplaceable and in consequence believed firmly that Hitler's Germany would, following their departure, become a dreary and empty cultural wasteland. This would inevitably cause the rapid collapse of the regime."

Time would prove the critics wrong. While it is true that the departure of such artists as Fritz Busch and Bruno Walter did hurt initially (and dealt a blow to German prestige), the nation's most renowned musicians — including Richard Strauss, Carl Orff, Karl Böhm, Hans Pfitzner, Wilhelm Kempff, Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, Herbert von Karajan, Anton Webern, as well as Furtwängler — remained to produce musical art of the highest standards. Regardless of the emigration of a number of



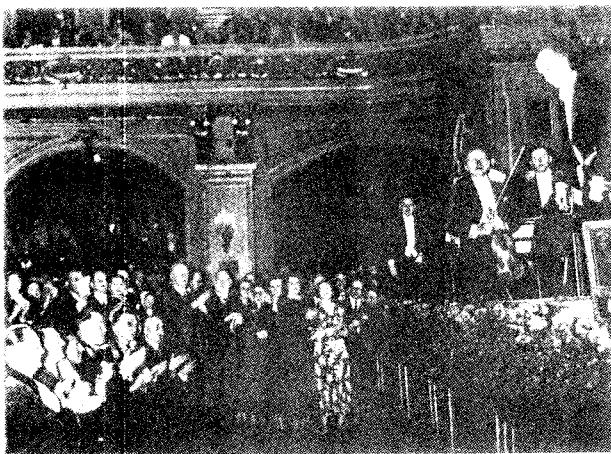
Goebbels in conversation with Furtwängler.

Jewish and a few non-Jewish artists, as well as the promulgation of sweeping anti-Jewish restrictions, Germany's cultural life not only continued at a high level, it flourished.

The National Socialists regarded art, and especially music, as an expression of a society's soul, character and ideals. A widespread appreciation of Germany's cultural achievements, they believed, encouraged a joyful national pride and fostered a healthy sense of national unity and mission. Because they regarded themselves as guardians of their nation's cultural heritage, they opposed liberal, modernistic trends in music and the other arts, as degenerate assaults against the cultural-spiritual traditions of Germany and the West.

Acting swiftly to promote a broad revival of the nation's cultural life, the new National Socialist government made prodigious efforts to further the arts and, in particular, music. As detailed in two recent studies (Kater's *The Twisted Muse* and Levi's *Music in the Third Reich*), not only did the new leadership greatly increase state funding for such important cultural institutions as the Berlin Philharmonic and the Bayreuth Wagner Festival, it used radio, recordings and other means to make Germany's musical heritage as accessible as possible to all its citizens.

As part of its efforts to bring art to the people, it strove to erase classical music's snobbish and "class" image, and to make it widely familiar and enjoyable, especially to the working class. At the same time, the new regime's leaders were mindful of popular musical tastes. Thus, by far most of the music heard during the Third Reich era on the radio or in



Following a performance of the Berlin Philharmonic, Furtwängler (upper right) acknowledges an applauding Hitler, who is seated with Göring and Goebbels.

films was neither classical nor even traditional. Light music with catchy tunes — similar to those popular with listeners elsewhere in Europe and in the United States — predominated on radio and in motion pictures, especially during the war years.

The person primarily responsible for implementing the new cultural policies was Joseph Goebbels. In his positions as Propaganda Minister and head of the "Reich Culture Chamber," the umbrella association for professionals in cultural life, he promoted music, literature, painting and film in keeping with German values and traditions, while at the same time consistent with popular tastes.

Hitler's Attitude

No political leader had a keener interest in art, or was a more enthusiastic booster of his nation's musical heritage than Hitler, who regarded the compositions of Beethoven, Wagner, Bruckner and the other German masters as sublime expressions of the Germanic "soul."

Hitler's reputation as a bitter, second rate "failed artist" is undeserved. As John Lukacs acknowledges in his recently published work, *The Hitler of History* (pp. 70-72), the German leader was a man of real artistic talent and considerable artistic discernment.

We perhaps can never fully understand Hitler and the spirit behind his political movement without knowing that he drew great inspiration from, and identified with, the heroic figures of European legend who fought to liberate their peoples from tyranny, and whose stories are immortalized in the great musical dramas of Wagner and others.

This was vividly brought out by August Kubizek, Hitler's closest friend as a teenager and young man, in his postwar memoir (published in the US under

the title *The Young Hitler I Knew*). Kubizek describes how, after the two young men together attended for the first time a performance in Linz of Wagner's opera "Rienzi," Hitler spoke passionately and at length about how this work's inspiring story of a popular Roman tribune had so deeply moved him. Years later, after he had become Chancellor, he related to Kubizek how that performance of "Rienzi" had radically changed his life. "In that hour it began," he confided.

Hitler of course recognized Furtwängler's greatness and understood his significance for Germany and German music. Thus, when other officials (including Himmler) complained of the conductor's nonconformity, Hitler overrode their objections. Until the end, Furtwängler remained his favorite conductor. He was similarly indulgent toward his favorite heldentenor, Max Lorenz, and Wagnerian soprano Frida Leider, each of whom was married to a Jew. Their cultural importance trumped racial or political considerations.

Postwar Humiliations

A year and a half after the end of the war in Europe, Furtwängler was brought before a humiliating "denazification" tribunal. Staged by American occupation authorities and headed by a Communist, it was a farce. So much vital information was withheld from both the tribunal and the defendant that Shirakawa suggests, the occupation authorities may well have been determined to "get" the conductor.

In his closing remarks at the hearing, Furtwängler defiantly defended his record:

The fear of being misused for propaganda purposes was wiped out by the greater concern for preserving German music as far as was possible ... I could not leave Germany in her deepest misery. To get out would have been a shameful flight. After all, I am a German, whatever may be thought of that abroad, and I do not regret having done it for the German people.

Even with a prejudiced judge and serious gaps in the record, the tribunal was still unable to establish a credible case against the conductor, and he was, in effect, cleared.

A short time later, Furtwängler was invited to assume direction of the Chicago Symphony. (He was no stranger to the United States: in 1927-29 he had served as visiting conductor of the New York Philharmonic.)

On learning of the invitation, America's Jewish cultural establishment launched an intense campaign — spearheaded by *The New York Times*, musicians Artur Rubinstein and Vladimir Horowitz, and

New York critic Ira Hirschmann — to scuttle Furtwängler's appointment. As described in detail by Shirakawa and writer Daniel Gillis (in *Furtwängler and America*) the campaigners used falsehoods, innuendos and even death threats.

Typical of its emotionally charged rhetoric was the bitter reproach of Chicago Rabbi Morton Berman:

Furtwängler preferred to swear fealty to Hitler. He accepted at Hitler's hands his reappointment as director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He was unfailing in his service to Goebbels' ministry of culture and propaganda ... The token saving of a few Jewish lives does not excuse Mr. Furtwängler from official, active participation in a regime which murdered six million Jews and millions of non-Jews. Furtwängler is a symbol of all those hateful things for the defeat of which the youth of our city and nation paid an ineffable price.

Among prominent Jews in classical music, only the famous violinist Yehudi Menuhin defended the German artist. After Furtwängler was finally obliged to withdraw his name from consideration for the Chicago post, a disillusioned Moshe Menuhin, Yehudi's father, scathingly denounced his co-religionists. Furtwängler, he declared,

was a victim of envious and jealous rivals who had to resort to publicity, to smear, to calumny, in order to keep him out of America so it could remain their private bailiwick. He was the victim of the small fry and puny souls among concert artists, who, in order to get a bit of national publicity, joined the bandwagon of professional idealists, the professional Jews and hired hands who irresponsibly assaulted an innocent and humane and broad-minded man ...

A Double Standard

Third Reich Germany is so routinely demonized in our society that any acknowledgment of its cultural achievements is regarded as tantamount to defending "fascism" and that most unpardonable of sins, anti-Semitism. But as Professor John London suggests (in an essay in *The Jewish Quarterly*, "Why Bother about Fascist Culture?", Autumn 1995), this simplistic attitude can present awkward problems:

Far from being a totally ugly, unpopular, destructive entity, culture under fascism was sometimes accomplished, indeed beautiful ... If you admit the presence, and in some instances the richness, of a culture produced under fascist regimes, then you are not defending their



Furtwängler leads the Berlin Philharmonic in a wartime concert for defense workers.

ethos. On the other hand, once you start dismissing elements, where do you stop?

In this regard, is it worth comparing the way that many media and cultural leaders treat artists of National Socialist Germany with their treatment of the artists of Soviet Russia. Whereas Furtwängler and other artists who performed in Germany during the Hitler era are castigated for their cooperation with the regime, Soviet-era musicians, such as composers Aram Khachaturian and Sergei Prokofiev, and conductors Evgeny Svetlanov and Evgeny Mravinsky — all of whom toadied to the Communist regime in varying degrees — are rarely, if ever, chastised for their "collaboration." The double standard that is clearly at work here is, of course, a reflection of our society's obligatory concern for Jewish sensitivities.

The artist and his work occupy a unique place in society and history. Although great art can never be entirely divorced from its political or social environment, it must be considered apart from that. In short, art transcends politics.

No reasonable person would denigrate the artists and sculptors of ancient Greece because they glorified a society that, by today's standards, was hardly democratic. Similarly, no one belittles the builders of medieval Europe's great cathedrals on the grounds that the social order of the Middle Ages was dogmatic and hierarchical. No cultured person would disparage William Shakespeare because he flourished during England's fervently nationalistic and anti-Jewish Elizabethan age. Nor does anyone chastise the magnificent composers of Russia's Tsarist era because they prospered under an autocratic regime. In truth, mankind's greatest cultural achievements have most often been the products not of liberal or egalitarian societies, but rather of quite un-democratic ones.

A close look at the life and career of Wilhelm Furtwängler reveals "politically incorrect" facts about the role of art and artists in Third Reich Germany, and reminds us that great artistic creativity and achievement are by no means the exclusive products of democratic societies.

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A Note on Wartime Recordings

Among the most historically fascinating and sought-after recordings of Wilhelm Furtwängler performances are his live wartime concerts with the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic orchestras. Many were recorded by the Reich Broadcasting Company on magnetophonic tape with comparatively good sound quality. Music & Arts (Berkeley, California) and Tahra (France) have specialized in releasing good quality CD recordings of these performances. Among the most noteworthy are:

Beethoven, Third "Eroica" Symphony (1944) — Tahra 1031 or Music & Arts CD 814

Beethoven, Fifth Symphony (1943) — Tahra set 1032/33, which also includes Furtwängler's performances of this same symphony from 1937 and 1954.

Beethoven, Ninth "Choral" Symphony (1942) — Music & Arts CD 653 or Tahra 1004/7.

Brahms, Four Symphonies — Music & Arts set CD 941 (includes two January 1945 performances, Furtwängler's last during the war).

Bruckner, Fifth Symphony (1942) — Music & Arts CD 538

Bruckner, Ninth Symphony (1944) — Music & Arts CD 730 (also available in Europe on Deutsche Grammophon CD, and in the USA as an import item).

R. Strauss, "Don Juan" (1942), and Four Songs, with Peter Anders (1942), etc. — Music & Arts CD 829.

Wagner, "Die Meistersinger:" Act I, Prelude (1943), and "Tristan und Isolde:" Prelude and Liebestod (1942), etc. — Music & Arts CD 794.

Wagner, "Der Ring des Nibelungen," excerpts from "Die Walküre" and "Gotterdämmerung" — Music & Arts set CD 1035 (although not from the war years, these 1937 Covent Garden performances are legendary)

"Great Conductors of the Third Reich: Art in the Service of Evil" is a worthwhile 53-minute VHS video-cassette produced by the Bel Canto Society (New York). Released in 1997, it is distributed by Allegro (Portland, Oregon). It features footage of Furtwängler conducting Beethoven's Ninth Symphony for Hitler's birthday celebration in April 1942. He is also shown conducting at Bayreuth, and leading a concert for wounded soldiers and workers at an AEG factory during the war. Although the notes are highly tendentious, the rare film footage is fascinating.

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Hailed by revisionist giants Barnes, Beard and Tansill when it appeared shortly after the Second World War, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into the War. Attractive IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., maps, biblio., index, \$8.95 + \$2.50 shipping.



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Knowledge and Power

"Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives. A popular government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy; or, perhaps both."

— James Madison

'The Blame of Those Ye Better' Life Styles: Native and Imposed

KEVIN BEARY

For decades now, African American leaders have been calling for a formal United States apology for the American role in the slave trade, with some even demanding reparations. Indian tribes proclaim their tax-exempt status as something they are owed for a legacy of persecution by the United States. Mexican Americans in the southwest United States seek to incorporate this region, including California, into Mexico, or even to set up an independent nation, Aztlan, that will recreate the glories of the Aztec empire, destroyed centuries ago by the imperialistic Spaniards.

That we live in an age of grievance and victimhood is not news. But did these peoples — these Mexican-Americans, these Native Americans, these African-Americans — really lose more than they gained in their confrontation with the West? Were they robbed of nobility, and coarsened? Or did White subjugation force them to shed savagery and barbarousness, and bring them, however unwillingly, into civilized humanity?

Today our children our being taught that the people who lived in the pre-Columbian Western Hemisphere were not "merciless Indian savages" (as Jefferson calls them in the Declaration of Independence), many of whom delighted in torture and cannibalism, but rather spiritually enlightened "native Americans" whose wise and peaceful nobility was rudely destroyed by invading European barbarians; that the Aztecs were not practitioners of human sacrifice and cannibalism on a scale so vast that the mind of the 20th-century American can hardly comprehend it, but rather defenders of an advanced civilization that was destroyed by brutal Spanish *conquistadores*; and that Africans were not uncultured slave traders and cannibals, but unappreciated builders of great empires.

But just how did these peoples live before they came into contact with Europeans? Although historical myth is ever more rapidly replacing factual history, not only in popular culture but also in our schools and universities, we may still find accurate historical accounts buried in larger libraries or in used book stores.

Kevin Beary is a teacher who writes from his home in New York.

Aztec Civilization

In his famous work, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Bernal Diaz del Castillo describes the march on Mexico with his captain, Hernan Cortés, in 1519. The Spanish forces set out from the Gulf of Mexico, and one of the first towns they visited was Cempoala, situated near the coast, where Cortés told the chiefs that "they would have to abandon their idols which they mistakenly believed in and worshipped, and sacrifice no more souls to them." As Diaz relates:

Every day they sacrificed before our eyes three, four, or five Indians, whose hearts were offered to those idols, and whose blood was plastered on the walls. The feet, arms, and legs of their victims were cut off and eaten, just as we eat beef from the butcher's in our country. I even believe that they sold it in the tianguez or markets.

Of their stay in Tenochtitlan, the present-day Mexico City and the heart of the Aztec empire, Diaz writes that Emperor Montezuma's servants prepared for their master

more than thirty dishes cooked in their native style ... I have heard that they used to cook him the flesh of young boys. But as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many different ingredients, we could not tell whether a dish was of human flesh or anything else ... I know for certain, however, that after our Captain spoke against the sacrifice of human beings and the eating of their flesh, Montezuma ordered that it should no longer be served to him.

In renouncing cannibalism, was Montezuma cooperating in the destruction of his Aztec "cultural roots," or was he aiding a victory of civilized custom over barbaric?

A few pages later, Diaz provides a detailed description of

the manner of their [that is, the Aztecs'] sacrifices. They strike open the wretched Indian's chest with flint knives and hastily tear out the



This contemporary Aztec drawing of a human sacrifice ritual shows a priest cutting out the heart of a victim. (From the *Codex Laud*, reproduced from the book, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, by M. Miller and K. Taube, p. 97.)

palpitating heart which, with the blood, they present to the idols in whose name they have performed the sacrifice. Then they cut off the arms, thighs, and head, eating the arms and thighs at their ceremonial banquets. The head they hang up on a beam, and the body of the sacrificed man is not eaten but given to the beasts of prey.

Diaz also describes the great market of Tenochtitlan, and its

dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feather, cloaks, and embroidered goods, and male and female slaves who are also sold there. They bring as many slaves to be sold in that market as the Portuguese bring Negroes from Guinea. Some are brought there attached to long poles by means of collars round their necks to prevent them from escaping, but others are left loose.

Plainly it was the Spanish who stamped out human sacrifice and cannibalism among the people of pre-Cortesian Mexico. As for slavery, it is as obvious that the Europeans did not introduce it to the New World as it is that they eradicated it, albeit not immediately. Moreover, the moral impulse to end slavery came from the West, specifically out of England. Had the Aztecs, Indians, and Africans been left to their own devices, slavery might well

have endured in North and South America, as it does in parts of present-day Africa.

North American Natives

In his epic work *France and England in North America*, the great American historian Francis Parkman describes the early 17th-century recreational and culinary habits of the Iroquois Indians (also known as the Five Nations, from whom, some will have it, the United States derived elements of its Constitution). He tells that the Iroquois, along with other tribes of northeastern United States and Canada, "were undergoing that process of extermination, absorption, or expatriation, which, as there is reason to believe, had for many generations formed the gloomy and meaningless history of the greater part of this continent." Parkman describes an attack by the Iroquois on an Algonquin hunting party, late in the autumn of 1641, and the Iroquois' treatment of their prisoners and victims:

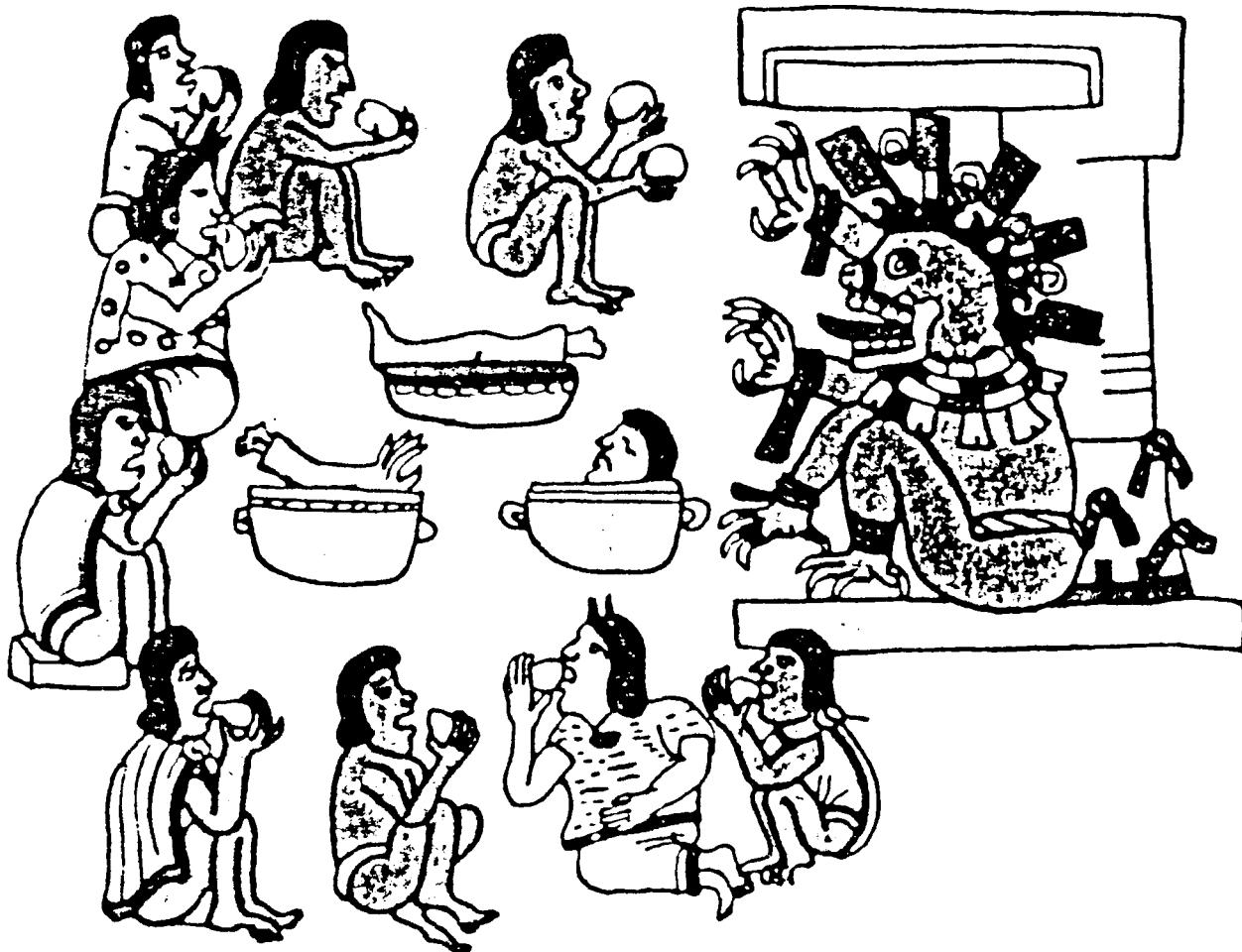
They bound the prisoners hand and foot, rekindled the fire, slung the kettles, cut the bodies of the slain to pieces, and boiled and devoured them before the eyes of the wretched survivors. "In a word," says the narrator [that is, the Algonquin woman who escaped to tell the tale], "they ate men with as much appetite and more pleasure than hunters eat a boar or a stag ..."

The conquerors feasted in the lodge till nearly daybreak ... then began their march homeward with their prisoners. Among these were three women, of whom the narrator was one, who had each a child of a few weeks or months old. At the first halt, their captors took the infants from them, tied them to wooden spits, placed them to die slowly before a fire, and feasted on them before the eyes of the agonized mothers, whose shrieks, supplications, and frantic efforts to break the cords that bound them were met with mockery and laughter ...

The Iroquois arrived at their village with their prisoners, whose torture was

designed to cause all possible suffering without touching life. It consisted in blows with sticks and cudgels, gashing their limbs with knives, cutting off their fingers with clam-shells, scorching them with firebrands, and other indescribable torments. The women were stripped naked, and forced to dance to the singing of the male prisoners, amid the applause and laughter of the crowd ...

On the following morning, they were placed on a large scaffold, in sight of the whole popu-



Following the ceremony in which humans are sacrificed to their gods, high-ranking Aztecs eat the flesh of the victims. (A contemporary Spanish illustration, from the *Codex Magliabechiano*, 72 verso, reproduced from the book *Aztecs: An Interpretation*, by Inga Clendinnen.)

A contemporary Spanish witness commented: "This figure demonstrates the abominable thing that the Indians did on the day they sacrificed to their idols. After [the sacrifice] they placed many large earthen cooking jars of that human meat in front of the idol they called Mictlantecutli, which means lord of the place of the dead, as it is mentioned in other parts [of this book]. And they gave and distributed it to the nobles and overseers, and to those who served in the temple of the demon, whom they called tlamacazqui [priests]. And these [persons] distributed among their friends and families that [flesh] and these [persons] which they had given [to the god as a human victim]. They say it tasted like pork meat tastes now. And for this reason pork is very desirable among them."

lation. It was a gala-day. Young and old were gathered from far and near. Some mounted the scaffold, and scorched them with torches and firebrands; while the children, standing beneath the bark platform, applied fire to the feet of the prisoners between the crevices ... The stoicism of one of the warriors enraged his captors beyond measure ... they fell upon him with redoubled fury, till their knives and firebrands left in him no semblance of humanity. He was defiant to the last, and when death came to his relief, they tore out his heart and

devoured it; then hacked him in pieces, and made their feast of triumph on his mangled limbs.

All the men and all the old women of the party were put to death in a similar manner, though but few displayed the same amazing fortitude. The younger women, of whom there were about thirty, after passing their ordeal of torture, were permitted to live; and, disfigured as they were, were distributed among the several villages, as concubines or slaves to the Iroquois warriors. Of this number were the



Human sacrifice, often accompanied by ceremonial cannibalism, was a feature of Aztec religious ritual. As this contemporary drawing shows, a priest wielding a stone dagger has just ripped out the heart of a victim, and is offering it to the Aztec sun god, Tonatiuh.

narrator and her companion, who ... escaped at night into the forest ...

Of the above account, Parkman writes: "Revolting as it is, it is necessary to recount it. Suffice it to say, that it is sustained by the whole body of contemporary evidence in regard to the practices of the Iroquois and some of the neighboring tribes."

The "large scaffold" on which the prisoners were placed, is elsewhere in his narrative referred to by Parkman as the Indians' "torture-scaffolds of bark," the Indian equivalent of the European theatrical stage, while the tortures performed by the Indians on their neighbors — and on the odd missionary who happened to fall their way — were the noble savages' equivalent of the European stage play.

If the descendants of the New England tribes now devote their time to selling tax-free cigarettes, running roulette wheels or dealing out black jack hands, rather than to the capture, torture, and consumption of their neighboring tribesmen, should we

not give thanks to those brave Jesuits who sacrificed all to redeem these "native Americans"?

Native Africans

What kind of life did the African live in his native land, before he was brought to America and introduced to Western civilization? That slavery was widely practiced in Africa before the coming of the white man is beyond dispute. But what sort of indigenous civilization did the African enjoy?

In *A Slaver's Log Book*, which chronicles the author's experiences in Africa during the 1820s and 1830s, Captain Theophilus Conneau (or Canot) describes a tribal victory celebration in a town he visited after an attack by a neighboring tribe:

On invading the town, some of the warriors had found in the Chief's house several jars of rum, and now the bottle went round with astonishing rapidity. The ferocious and savage dance was then suggested. The war bells and horns had sounded the arrival of the female warriors, who on the storming of a town generally make their entry in time to participate in the division of the human flesh; and as the dead and wounded were ready for the knife, in they came like furies and in the obscene perfect state of nakedness, performed the victorious dance which for its cruelties and barbarities has no parallel.

Some twenty-five in number made their appearance with their faces and naked bodies besmeared with chalk and red paint. Each one bore a trophy of their cannibal nature. The matron or leader ... bore an infant babe newly torn from its mother's womb and which she tossed high in the air, receiving it on the point of her knife. Other Medeas followed, all bearing some mutilated member of the human frame.

Rum, powder, and blood, a mixture drunk with avidity by these Bacchantes, had rendered them drunk, and the brutal dance had intoxicated them to madness. Each was armed also with some tormenting instrument, and not content with the butchering outside of the town of the fugitive women, they now surrounded the pile of the wounded prisoners, long kept in suspense for the *coup de grâce*. A ring was formed by the two-legged tigresses, and accompanied by hideous yells and encouraging cry of the men, the round dance began. The velocity of the whirling soon broke the hideous circle, when each one fell on his victims and the massacre began. Men and women fell to dispatching the groaning wounded with the most disgusting cruelties.

I have seen the tiger pounce on the inoffensive gazelle and in its natural propensity of love of blood, strangle its victim, satiate its thirst, and often abandon the dead animal. But not so with these female cannibals. The living and dying had to endure a tormenting and barbarous mutilation, the women showing more cannibal nature in the dissection of the dead than the stronger sex. The *coup de grâce* was given by the men, but in one instance the victim survived a few minutes when one of those female furies tormented the agony of the dying man by prostrating herself on his body and there acting the beast of double backs.

The matron, commander of these anthropophagies, with her fifty years and corpuluous body, led the cruelties on by her example. The unborn babe had been put aside for a *bonne bouche*, and now adorned with a string of men's genital parts, she was collecting into a gourd the brains of the decapitated bodies. While the disgusting operating went on, the men carved the solid flesh from the limbs of the dead, throwing the entrails aside.

About noon the butchering was at an end, and a general barbecuing took place. The smell of human flesh, so disgusting to civilized man, was to them the pleasing odor so peculiarly agreeable to a gastronomer ...

The barbecuing over, an anthropagous repast took place, when the superabundant preserved flesh was packed up in plantain leaves to be sent into the Interior for the warriors' friends. I am silent on the further cruelties that were practiced this day on the unfortunate infirm and wounded that the different scouting parties brought in during the day, supposing the reader to be sick enough at heart at the above representation.

Vanishing History

This is the history that has been handed down to us by men who either were present when the recorded events took place — that is, Diaz and Conneau — or who had access to period documents — that is, Parkman. But this factual history has suffered greatly at the hands of politically correct myth-mongers. The books themselves are disappearing from the shelves: Conneau's book has been out of print for nearly a generation; perhaps Diaz's and Parkman's will follow in the next 20 years. In its place, the most absurd historical fantasies are substituted. As the seemingly inexorable forces of political correctness grind on, we may be left with as much knowledge of our true history as Orwell's Winston Smith had of his.

Were it not for their subjugation by Europeans,

Mexicans would perhaps have continued to practice the Aztec traditions of slavery, human sacrifice and cannibalism; many American Indians would probably still be living their sad and perilous life of nomadism, subsistence farming, and warfare; and Africans would likely be expiring in even greater numbers on the fields of mayhem and slaughter (as the world has noted to its horror in Rwanda, Liberia and Congo), when not being bought and sold as slaves (as still is done in Sudan and Mauritania).

In his 1965 work, *The Course of Empire: The Arabs and their Successors*, the sagacious Glubb Pasha wrote in defense of Western colonialism:

Foreign military conquest has not only enabled backward people to acquire the skills and the culture of the conquerors, but it has often administered a salutary shock to the lethargic mentality of the inhabitants, among whom the desire to rise to equality with the foreigners has roused a new spirit of energy ... Britain has permeated Asia and Africa with her ideas of government, of law and of ordered civilization. The men of races who less than a hundred years ago were naked are now lawyers, doctors and statesmen on the stage of the world.

But if the present trend of denigrating the West's *mission civilisatrice* continues, the achievements of that great civilizing venture might well be squandered and lost forever. If we permit inhumane customs and mores to reassert themselves, the ultimate dissolution of the West itself is not an impossibility. In his famous poem "White Man's Burden," Rudyard Kipling eloquently spelled out the fate of a culture that loses faith in itself and its mission:

And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch Sloth and heathen Folly
Turn all your hope to naught.

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The Noble Red Man

Mark Twain

The tendency to idealize the Indian is hardly new in American history. Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), a master debunker of cant and hokum, voiced his contempt for worshipful depictions of America's aboriginal inhabitants in the following essay, which originally appeared in the September 1870 issue of The Galaxy.

In books he is tall and tawny, muscular, straight and of kingly presence; he has a beaked nose and an eagle eye.

His hair is glossy, and as black as the raven's wing; out of its massed richness springs a sheaf of brilliant feathers; in his ears and nose are silver ornaments; on his arms and wrists and ankles are broad silver bands and bracelets; his buckskin hunting suit is gallantly fringed, and the belt and the moccasins wonderfully flowered with colored beads; and when, rainbowed with his war-paint, he stands at full height, with his crimson blanket wrapped about him, his quiver at his back, his bow and tomahawk projecting upward from his folded arms, and his eagle eye gazing at specks against the far horizon which even the paleface's field-glass could scarcely reach, he is a being to fall down and worship.

His language is intensely figurative. He never speaks of the moon, but always of "the eye of the night;" nor of the wind as the wind, but as "the whisper of the Great Spirit;" and so forth and so on. His power of condensation is marvelous. In some publications he seldom says anything but "Waugh!" and this, with a page of explanation by the author, reveals a whole world of thought and wisdom that before lay concealed in that one little word.

He is noble. He is true and loyal; not even imminent death can shake his peerless faithfulness. His heart is a well-spring of truth, and of generous impulses, and of knightly magnanimity. With him, gratitude is religion; do him a kindness, and at the end of a lifetime he has not forgotten it. Eat of his bread, or offer him yours, and the bond of hospitality is sealed a bond which is forever inviolable with him.

He loves the dark-eyed daughter of the forest, the dusky maiden of faultless form and rich attire,

the pride of the tribe, the all-beautiful. He talks to her in a low voice, at twilight of his deeds on the war-path and in the chase, and of the grand achievements of his ancestors; and she listens with downcast eyes, "while a richer hue mantles her dusky cheek."

Such is the Noble Red Man in print. But out on the plains and in the mountains, not being on dress parade, not being gotten up to see company, he is under no obligation to be other than his natural self, and therefore:

He is little, and scrawny, and black, and dirty, and, judged by even the most charitable of our canons of human excellence, is thoroughly pitiful and contemptible. There is nothing in his eye or his nose that is attractive, and if there is anything in his hair that — however, that is a feature which will not bear too close examination ... He wears no bracelets on his arms or ankles; his hunting suit is gallantly fringed, but not intentionally, when he does not wear his disgusting rabbitskin robe, his hunting suit consists wholly of the half of a horse blanket brought over in the Pinta or the Mayflower, and frayed out and fringed by inveterate use. He is not rich enough to possess a belt; he never owned a moccasin or wore a shoe in his life; and truly he is nothing but a poor, filthy, naked scurvy vagabond, whom to exterminate were a charity to the Creator's wretched insects and reptiles which he oppresses.

Still, when contact with the white man has given to the Noble Son of the Forest certain cloudy impressions of civilization, and aspirations after a nobler life, he presently appears in public with one boot on and one shoe — shirtless, and wearing ripped and patched and buttonless pants which he holds up with his left hand — his execrable rabbitskin robe flowing from his shoulder an old hoop-skirt on, outside of it — a necklace of battered sardine-boxes and oyster-cans reposing on his bare breast — a venerable flint-lock musket in his right hand — a weather-beaten stove-pipe hat on, canted "gallusly" to starboard, and the lid off and hanging by a thread or two; and when he thus appears, and waits patiently around a saloon till he gets a chance to strike a "swell" attitude before a looking-glass, he is a good, fair, desirable subject for extermination if ever there was one.

There is nothing figurative, or moonshiny, or sentimental about his language. It is very simple and unostentatious, and consists of plain, straightforward lies. His "wisdom" conferred upon an idiot would leave that idiot helpless indeed.

He is ignoble — base and treacherous, and hateful in every way. Not even imminent death can startle him into a spasm of virtue. The ruling trait of all savages is a greedy and consuming selfishness, and in our Noble Red Man it is found in its amplest



Mark Twain

development. His heart is a cesspool of falsehood, of treachery, and of low and devilish instincts. With him, gratitude is an unknown emotion; and when one does him a kindness, it is safest to keep the face toward him, lest the reward be an arrow in the back. To accept of a favor from him is to assume a debt which you can never repay to his satisfaction, though you bankrupt yourself trying. To give him a dinner when he is starving, is to precipitate the whole hungry tribe upon your hospitality, for he will go straight and fetch them, men, women, children, and dogs, and these they will huddle patiently around your door, or flatten their noses against your window, day after day, gazing beseechingly upon every mouthful you take, and unconsciously swallowing when you swallow! The scum of the earth!

And the Noble Son of the Plains becomes a mighty hunter in the due and proper season. That season is the summer, and the prey that a number of the tribes hunt is crickets and grasshoppers! The warriors, old men, women, and children, spread themselves abroad in the plain and drive the hopping creatures before them into a ring of fire. I could describe the feast that then follows, without missing a detail, if I thought the reader would stand it.

All history and honest observation will show that the Red Man is a skulking coward and a windy braggart, who strikes without warning — usually from an ambush or under cover of night, and nearly always bringing a force of about five or six to one against his enemy; kills helpless women and little children, and massacres the men in their beds; and then brags about it as long as he lives, and his son and his grandson and great-grandson after him glorify it among the "heroic deeds of their ancestors." A regiment of Fenians will fill the whole world with the noise of it when they are getting ready invade Canada; but when the Red Man declares war, the first intimation his friend the white man whom he supped with at twilight has of it, is when the war-



Typical of the many "politically correct" motion pictures produced by Hollywood in recent years is "Pocahontas," a 1995 Disney animated film that portrays Indians as liberated, nature-loving, wise and noble, and white Europeans as narrow-minded, ignorant, bigoted and greedy. In this scene from the movie, Pocahontas teaches English settler John Smith how to "paint with all the colors of the wind." In reality, when the two first met in 1607, the Indian maiden was ten or eleven years old and, in keeping with local custom, bald and naked. Among the other "good Indian, bad white man" films produced in recent years have been "Dances With Wolves" with Kevin Costner (1990), "The Last of His Tribe" with Jon Voigt, and Robert Redford's "Incident at Ogalala."

whoop rings in his ears and tomahawk sinks into his brain...

The Noble Red Man seldom goes prating loving foolishness to a splendidly caparisoned blushing maid at twilight. No; he trades a crippled horse, or a damaged musket, or a dog, or a gallon of grasshoppers, and an inefficient old mother for her, and makes her work like an abject slave all the rest of her life to compensate him for the outlay. He never works himself. She builds the habitation, when they use one (it consists in hanging half a dozen rags over the weather side of a sage-brush bush to roost under); gathers and brings home the fuel; takes care of the raw-boned pony when they possess such grandeur; she walks and carries her nursing cubs while he rides. She wears no clothing save the fragrant rabbit-skin robe which her great-grandmother before her wore, and all the "blushing" she does can be removed with soap and a towel, provided it is only four or five weeks old and not caked.

Such is the genuine Noble Aborigine. I did not get him from books, but from personal observation.

The Papon Trial

ROBERT FAURISSON

On April 2, 1998, after the longest trial in all of French history, Maurice Papon, aged 87, was found guilty of complicity in "crimes against humanity," and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as well as ten years' privation of his civic, civil, and family rights. He was also stripped of all his decorations, particularly that of the Legion of Honor. In addition, on April 3 he was ordered to pay 4.6 million francs (about \$766,000) to the plaintiffs. Papon has appealed the verdict with the superior appeals court (the "Cour de Cassation"), the decision of which will probably be known within a year's time. Meanwhile Papon is free on bail. His wife died a few days before the verdict. He is in bad health.

Papon had been charged in 1997 on the basis of his activities from 1942 to 1944 as Secretary General in Bordeaux for the Gironde region. Specifically, he was charged with *complicity* in the wartime arrests of hundreds of Jews and in their subsequent internment at the custodial camp at Mérignac, outside Bordeaux. Some of these Jews were later transferred to the camp at Drancy, in the Paris region, of whom some were deported from France, notably to Auschwitz.

Mr. Papon showed great courage during this trial, which lasted six months, but he did not dare to adopt a revisionist defense strategy, which might have consisted in saying: "I cannot have been an accomplice to a crime, the extermination of the Jews, about which I had no knowledge, for the simple reason that that crime did not happen."

His main lawyer, Jean-Marc Varaut, opted for a strategy that may be summed up as follows: "My client served, in spite of himself, an abject regime, that of Vichy, but he kept his hands clean." Varaut is known for having recently written a book in which he praises the Nuremberg tribunal. He maintains

relations with a number of prominent political personalities, and among his clients have been several persons implicated in political and financial cases. He also stays on excellent terms with fellow members of the Bar who happen to be Jewish and, throughout the trial, preferred to be seen keeping a certain distance from his own client and, at the same time, to converse in a friendly manner with the plaintiffs' counsel.

On April 5 I wrote a letter about the Papon trial and the behavior of Varaut. I addressed it to Martin Peltier, managing editor of *National Hebdo*, a French weekly that supports the National Front party of Jean-Marie Le Pen. I myself am apolitical. I thank Mr. Peltier for publishing my letter under the title "Histoire: la reculade de Bordeaux" ("History: Backing down in Bordeaux") in the April 9-15 issue (p. 15).

Here is the text of that letter, preceded by a preface by Mr. Peltier.

Preface

During his recent "crimes against humanity" trial in the Bordeaux court, Maurice Papon, and more so his counsel, waived the use of an important argument for his defense: namely, that the *Union générale des Israélites de France* (UGIF) [the central Jewish community association], which was under the authority of the [French] government in Vichy, took part in the internment and the deportation of Jews during the Second World War, and even in the great round up at the Paris cycling arena [the "Vélodrome d'Hiver" sports stadium] on July 16, 1942. This shows quite clearly that what has since been called the "Final Solution" was then unknown, and gives one an idea of the complexity of the French government's policy toward the Jews, of their status during the German occupation, and of the responsibilities of the civil service. The text below expounds the opinion that by criminalizing "Vichy" (for tactical purposes?) attorney Jean-Marc Varaut made his client's conviction inevitable.

Letter

Dear Sir,

The sentence passed on Maurice Papon ought not to surprise you. For six months his chief counsel, Jean-Marc Varaut, had expressed the abhorrence in

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

which he held the "criminal" wartime government in Vichy, while at the same time describing his client, a high-ranking official of that "criminal" regime, as a perfectly innocent man. "If this were the trial of 'Vichy,'" he stated repeatedly, "then I would be among the plaintiffs," and this as he was defending a former high official of "Vichy"! What juror, or any other person of common sense, could accept such a contradiction?

If the report in the April 2 edition of *Le Monde* is to be believed, the following are the terms used by this attorney, in his pleadings of March 31 alone, on the subject of "Vichy's" policy toward the Jews of Bordeaux: "repulsion," "shame," "dishonor," "horror," "disgust," "amazement," "in-comprehension." After such an onslaught as that, how could anyone expect to fight his way back? How could one get the jury to accept that a high-ranking official had been able to work for such a regime for several years without sulllying himself? With hell painted in colors like those, who could be persuaded that an angel had lived there?

The judges and the jury drew the conclusion that Mr. Papon must have sullied himself.

They had certainly noted the efforts that J.-M. Varaut made in order physically to keep his distance from Mr. Papon, while showing a remarkable warm-heartedness toward most of the plaintiffs' counsel. This was noticeable on the televised reports, and was picked up on by the newspapers. A *Le Monde* reporter put it in these words: "Jean-Marc Varaut likes to be seen to keep his distance from his client" (November 16-17, 1997). From his own standpoint, a Figaro journalist noted: "The barrister maintains distant and courteous relations with his client," before adding that Mr. Varaut's "consensual temperament" had allowed him "to share chambers for nine years with Mr. Roland Dumas," the one-time Socialist foreign minister (March 30, 1998).

The press also taught us that Mr. Varaut dreaded the prospect of his client's closing statement (*Le Monde*, March 10). And for good reason! In that brief speech, Mr. Papon was clear, courageous, and frank. He told the three-judge panel and the nine members of the jury that the only possible outcomes were life imprisonment, on the one hand, or acquittal, on the other.

But how could he, in those few minutes, convince the jurors? The damage had been done.

During an entire six-month trial, and particularly in his summing up, J.-M. Varaut prudently avoided resorting to a good part of the solid and effective argumentation which he had announced two years previously in a *Le Monde* article entitled "L'affaire Papon n'est pas ce que l'on dit" ("The Papon case is not what it is said to be") (February 29, 1996). At that time he wrote:

[Mr. Papon's role] was analogous to that of the delegates at Bordeaux of the *Union générale des*



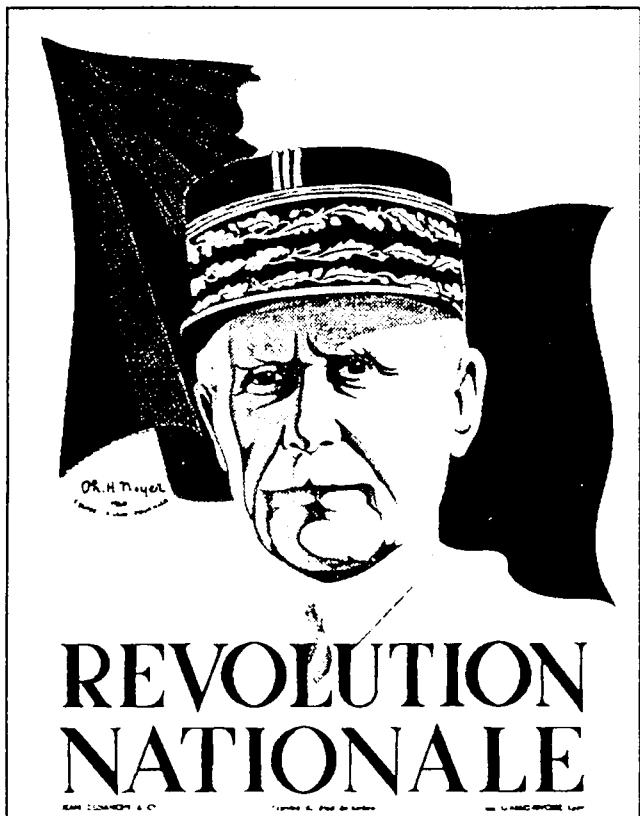
Maurice Papon leaves the court house in Bordeaux where he was the defendant in the lengthiest trial in French history.

Israélites de France [UGIF] who oversaw the convoys, and a good deal smaller than that of the [Jewish] head of the Drancy camp and his officers, French Jews who were in charge of the selection, registration, and composition of the trainloads of deportees headed to the East, and who discriminated in favor of French Jews as against foreign ones!

At the trial, J.-M. Varaut did not really open these two cans of worms: neither that of the UGIF and the "Brown Jews," nor that of Drancy and the running of that camp by Jews. (Robert Blum used to sign his notes, including those relating to the preparation of deportation convoys, "Lieutenant Colonel Blum, Commandant of Drancy Camp.")

Varaut avoided reminding the court that the UGIF had taken part in the preparations for the big round-up at the Paris cycling arena, the Vél' d'hiv, in July 1942. In his eagerness to blacken "Vichy," he greatly minimized certain interventions on the part of the French State, namely those concerning the deportation of the Jews and the settling, in their favor, of various conflicts with the German authorities. For example, when, in the wake of several attacks on German soldiers, the Jewish community was fined one billion francs (about \$250 million, in today's money), [French Head of State] Marshal Pétain and Xavier Vallat (Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs) acted immediately to have that amount covered by the national banking syndicate, against a promise of repayment by the UGIF ... over the next 99 years!

Some leading figures of the Chief Rabbinate and of



Henri Philippe Pétain is shown here on a poster that urges support for his authoritarian government of "National Revolution." Pétain's role as a brilliant military commander during the First World War made him a national hero. In 1940, in the wake of France's disastrous defeat in its war against Germany, the National Assembly by overwhelming vote (569-80) named him Head of State with sweeping authority. For the next four years, he presided over the French national government headquartered in Vichy. After the war he was put on trial and sentenced to death. This was commuted to life imprisonment, and he died in prison in 1951, at the age of 95.

the Central Consistory of French Jews [the hierarchical religious organization of French Jewry, established in 1808], as well as officials of other Jewish organizations, maintained excellent relations with Marshal Pétain himself or with other high-ranking Vichy officials.

In the September-December 1996 issue of [the French-Jewish journal] *Le Monde Juif* (p. 97), Simon Schwarzfuchs wrote:

Besides, it can be considered that the diverse [French Jewish] communities were not unhappy with the role played by their rabbis during the occupation; the very great majority [of the latter] had not thought fit to leave their posts for [exile in]

Spain or Switzerland, nor even to go into hiding. Religious services were held regularly wherever the numbers and the availability of the faithful warranted it. In Paris most of the big synagogues stayed open throughout the period of hostilities.

After the "liberation," those Jews who ought to have been prosecuted under the [new] laws dealing with collaboration with the enemy escaped the fate reserved to most others, and had their names cleared by "intra-community tribunals," made up exclusively of [Jewish] co-religionists.

[As Schwarzfuchs noted, p. 100, in his *Le Monde juif* article:]

At that time, Leon Meiss [a senior judge of Jewish origin] had to ... take care of the moral side of the UGIF's dissolution. Intra-community tribunals were set up to hear the charges made against some of its leaders. In the end, they were all more or less rehabilitated. There was no purge within French Jewry.

Varaut could have shown that his client was being tried for "crimes" infinitely less serious than those of the UGIF which, for its part, was not content with merely cooperating indirectly in the rounding-up and deportation of Jews to custodial or transit camps: indeed it went so far as to hand over Jewish children to the occupying forces for deportation (*Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Yad Vashem, IV, p. 1538).

It is often said that without the French police the Germans would not have been able to carry out their policy of relocation in the East of certain Jews. But what was true of the police was even more true of many French Jews, including the "Jewish Police" of Drancy, sometimes called the "Gestapolak," a nickname designating the "MS's" or members, male or female, of the "Internal Surveillance Service," although it was composed mainly of French Jews (Maurice Rajfus, *Drancy*, Manya, 1991, p. 198).

Varaut could even have left off writing a whole section of his pleadings. It would have been enough for him to request a loan of certain Central Consistory documents from the Hauts-de-Seine *departement* archives (in the Paris suburbs), or to demand the discovery of the 1944-45 "intra-community tribunals" archives. In them he would surely have found elements of use to his client's defense, as well as ready arguments (in black and white) that he could have used in Bordeaux in 1997-98 by simply substituting within them the name of Papon for one high-ranking Jewish official or another. He might have rested his case with the questions:

What sort of justice is it which allows a "crime" to be absolved on the spot, and then to be punished

half a century later? Is it not a case of the pot calling the kettle black?

Given his hostility to revisionism, one could hardly expect Varaut to use revisionist arguments; but why did he waive, in 1997-98, the use of an argumentation that he himself had put forth in 1996, and which the plaintiffs so dreaded hearing him use? I should be interested in knowing whether there was a precise reason for this "backing down" ...

For Varaut did "back down." One of the plaintiff's counsel even mentioned it to him; the remark was reported in *Le Monde*, March 13:

Then, [Mr. Blet] poured scorn on the defense's case, in advance: the interventions of the French authorities during the deportations? "That's revisionism!" Mr. Varaut did not bat an eyelash. The Jewish participation in running the Drancy camp? "How revolting of you!" And then, "Happily, you've backed down." Mr. Varaut nodded.

Indeed Varaut has all too often "backed down" and "nodded."

According to the *France-Info* radio network, Papon is being charged six million francs (\$1 million) by his lawyers. As he has been ordered to pay another 4.6 million francs (\$766,000) in damages, there may be doubts as to whether he will be able to meet that bill. Happily for Varaut, Papon's insolvency would not cause the leading [defense] attorney much grief: among his clients are several rich representatives of the Jewish community, particularly Maurice Msellatti-Casanova and his son Charles, owner of the famous Champs-Elysees restaurant "Fouquet's" (*Libération*, Dec. 2, 1997).

Personally, despite our grave differences of opinion, I had passed on a good deal of information and documents to J.-M. Varaut, material — conventional, non-revisionist — fit to aid in the defense of his client (particularly, a brief article I wrote last year entitled "Maurice Papon and Yves Jouffa: A Double Standard?"). If he did not use any of it, it was deliberately so, and for reasons unknown to me.

— April 5, 1998

Correction

Most of the information and points made in the introduction to the letters from and to Gerald Fleming published in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 Journal, p. 11, were taken from a piece by Robert Faurisson, "A KGB Novelist: Gerald Fleming," published in the Adelaide Institute on line newsletter (Australia), Dec. 1996, pp. 23-25. We apologize for the failure to give proper credit there to Prof. Faurisson.

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New IHR Internet Web Site Offers Easier Worldwide Access to Revisionism

The Institute for Historical Review now has its own Internet web site, www.ihr.org, which offers an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, enabling callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New items will be added as time permits.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates the IHR site as its "webmaster." This new site succeeds the personal web site that Raven operated for four years. All IHR files that were on the old site have been transferred to the new one. Because it has its own "domain name," the new site is more accessible than its predecessor.

Through the new IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multi-media Internet service.

In recent weeks the IHR web site has been receiving an average of some 800 "hits" or "visits" per day.

Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is

<http://www.ihr.org>

E-mail messages can be sent to

ihr@ihr.org

"This I hold to be the chief office of history, to rescue virtuous actions from the oblivion to which a want of records would consign them, and that men should feel a dread of being considered infamous in the opinions of posterity, from their depraved expressions and base actions."

— Tacitus, Roman historian

Peter Sagal's 'Denial'

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

Peter Sagal's anti-revisionist play "Denial," being performed during April and May 1998 in Highland Park, Illinois, centers on Bernard Cooper, an engineering professor (not electrical) who has written a Holocaust revisionist book.

In its review of the play, the *Chicago Tribune* (April 23, 1998, sec. 5, p. 4) said it is "based in part on Holocaust skeptic Arthur Butz." The *Chicago Jewish Star* (April 24-May 7, 1998, p. 12) declared that Cooper is "an Arthur Butz clone." Since there will be those who will think it is actually about me, I want to clarify this relationship as I see it. Thus this is not a review in the normal sense. For example, those who don't want to learn the surprise climax should stop reading now.

The feds, represented by prosecutor Adam Ryberg, who wears a yarmulke (Jewish beanie) throughout, want to charge Cooper with incitement to violence based on the fact that there are several known cases of people who committed acts of violence who had possessed copies of Cooper's book. Ryberg has confiscated Cooper's files, and also claims he has the testimony of a secret, unidentified informant.

The American Civil Liberties Union asks Jewish lawyer Abigail Gersten to defend Cooper, and she reluctantly agrees, though she subsequently misses no opportunity to express her hostility toward Cooper.

Ryberg, Cooper and Gersten meet in the last's office, where they are joined by Noah Gomrowitz, an Elie Wiesel type who has written a book detailing how his friend Nathan traded identities with him at Auschwitz and was subsequently gassed.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, an important work of revisionist scholarship on the Holocaust extermination story.

This article is copyright by A.R. Butz. It is slightly revised from a text that first appeared on May 5, 1998, on Dr. Butz's Web site: <http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz>

In this meeting Cooper questions Gomrowitz with some effect. He shows that Gomrowitz could not have actually known that Nathan was gassed because he did not witness it. He also nails Gomrowitz on claiming an air raid at Auschwitz months before the first actually took place. Although the play gets the dates garbled, this is clearly lifted from my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 150ff). Indeed much, though not all, of what Cooper argues in this play is clearly lifted from my book.



Arthur R. Butz

This exchange infuriates Gomrowitz to the extent that he physically attacks Cooper, who is thrown to the floor before Ryberg is able to pull Gomrowitz away.

Later, when alone with Gersten in her office, Cooper is able to show her that much of what she believed with certainty about the Holocaust is not true, for example, the alleged factories for making soap from dead Jews, and the claim of homicidal

gas chambers in camps in Germany. Although at the outset of the play Cooper had seemed a fidgeting idiot, by this point he has become a strong character, arguing confidently both in terms of historical fact and moral justification. He finishes this meeting with Gersten by depositing with her a mysterious audio tape, with written transcript.

The climax of the action comes when Ryberg and Gomrowitz come again to Gersten's office. Cooper is not there; rather, there is a mysterious old man, who turns out to be the allegedly gassed Nathan, whom Cooper found months earlier and persuaded to make the audio taped interview. Gersten has inferred that this whole affair was a plot of Cooper's from the beginning. She believes that after Cooper

found Nathan, he persuaded an associate to become the secret informant who would lure the feds into moving against Cooper and putting him on trial under circumstances where the exposure of Gomrowitz's false claim would cause a sensation. This meeting is for the purpose of warning the feds of the perceived trap. Gersten's behavior here is frankly presented as grounds for disbarment.

Ryberg drops the case and returns the several boxes of Cooper's files to Gersten's office. Now features of the play that had been ambiguous earlier become unambiguous. One disturbing message of this play is that Holocaust revisionists should not be countered with legal action or reasoned argument, but instead with a disregard for law and even with violence. For example, when rioters identified as Jewish Defense League members throw a brick through her window, Gersten responds by throwing Cooper's files out the window to them. That ends the play, and apparently expresses the message.

That the plot of the play allowed Cooper some victories is not for a moment suggested as grounds for even mere tolerance of him. If it is granted that Cooper did indeed plant the secret informant, armed with phony information, in order to trick the feds, then there was an offense on his part that should be prosecuted. However the illegal conduct of the lawyers, and the decision not to bring Cooper to trial, is excused on the grounds that one must not give Cooper a platform from which to produce Nathan for the world. We are obviously also supposed to excuse Gomrowitz's attack on Cooper, and Cooper's lawyer's throwing his files to terrorists.

A common charge made against us is that we "cause hate." After a quarter century, I have yet to see the development of any of the "hate" alleged. However, I think we have to plead guilty for the simple reason that nobody has to look very far to see the hate coming at us on account of our exercise of our critical faculties; this play is an example. Just as revisionists are hated with a burning intensity, the hatred of Cooper by all the other characters is palpable throughout the action. I believe that this play is the basis for a forthcoming movie starring Susan Sarandon as Gersten. I hope the message changes.

Apart from the facts that Cooper is an engineering professor, has published a Holocaust revisionist book, and uses some arguments inspired by my book, he has little resemblance to me. He is an organizer; I am not. He is devious; I am not. My files have not been thrown to Jewish terrorists. Unfortunately I have not found the allegedly gassed friend



A scene from the new anti-revisionist play, "Denial," performed in Highland Park, a suburb of Chicago: Holocaust survivor Noah Gomrowitz (played by Mike Nussbaum, right) loses his temper and attacks Prof. Bernard Cooper (played by Mervon Mehta), a "Holocaust denier" loosely modeled on Northwestern University professor Arthur Butz.

of any famous author. Most important, I have never been prosecuted, and revisionists who have been prosecuted, in Europe and Canada, have been charged under laws, limiting free expression, that could not possibly be enacted in the USA. Most infamous is the Fabius-Gayssot law in France, which since 1990 has outlawed contesting "crimes against humanity" as claimed in the 1946 judgment of the main Nuremberg trial! My friend Robert Faurisson has been fined heavily under this outrageous law. In Germany, my translator/distributor Udo Walendy, an ill old man, languishes in jail. Our leaders worry greatly about "human rights" abuses committed by China, and look the other way when they are committed by their friends in the heart of Western civilization.

Center of Power

"When all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1821

France's Remarkable 'Aaargh' Web Site

Don't Die Ignorant

Everybody knows revisionism is an abomination. But it not only exists — it persists. Moral censure and penal convictions, vigilance committees, even the laws of the state — nothing works. For the past 20 years, revisionism has not stopped growing. A recent poll shows that 30 percent of the people in France are ready to accept its basic tenets. They keep their mouth shut only out of caution.

Pleading in front of Judge Pluyette, a distinguished elderly lawyer of the French "League for Human Rights" requested the ban of the first issue of the journal *Annales d'histoire revisionniste*. He exclaimed: "As long as it [revisionism] was published in small limited-circulation periodicals, we kept quiet. But I found this journal yesterday at the Marseilles airport newsstand. Now we demand its ban." These virtuous words were uttered in the Fall of 1987 — ten years ago. Since then, the situation is ever more embarrassing. Revisionist publications have multiplied, sometimes reaching astonishing levels of sales, as in the case of Roger Garaudy's book, which has been selling everywhere by the tens of thousands.

The worst is still to come. For more than a year now, there has been a French-language revisionist web site on the Internet. The team that has been putting this site together, and whose members are concretely defending freedom of expression, remain anonymous because of the attacks on this freedom. They have chosen to publicize the main elements of the revisionist controversy, and to treat this issue as rationally as possible. When they began work on this new site, a number of texts existed that may almost be regarded as "classics," but which were out of print and difficult to find. One after another, these texts are now being made available on this web site. For example, one can find the beginnings of an archive of materials from "La Vieille Taupe," the group that played a leading role in the opening of revisionist polemics in France. Also accessible here are numerous writings of Professor Faurisson, originally published since late 1978, for those who did not experience the early years of the revisionist controversy.

There is renewed discussion of Paul Rassinier, the French educator who, back in the 50s and early 60s, was the driving force of revisionism, not only in

France but globally as well. On this new web site is an archive devoted to his writings, including translations in English and (soon) other languages as well. Already more than 40 forgotten articles he wrote in 1951-53 have been added to the site. The books by Serge Thion that describe and analyze the beginnings of the Faurisson affair are on display (in French as well as in German, and partially in English). Robert Faurisson's lawyer, Eric Delcroix, is present with a vigorous pamphlet that brought him a court conviction. Henri Roques' famous 1985 "thesis of Nantes" about SS officer Kurt Gerstein and his "confessions" is also available (and soon in English and German as well). Others will follow.

Our web site carefully scrutinizes the numerous efforts to suppress intellectual freedom in France. You'll find information on trials, including the recent Garaudy trial, on debates in court, as well as on the judicial system itself and its role in suppressing free discussion of historical issues. In just a year, several hundred texts have thus been made available on the Internet, reaching a serious readership.

As presented on our site, revisionism is free of politics. It strongly disapproves of and entirely avoids appeals to hatred or violence. The site upholds the principle of the unity of mankind. It supports complete calm and sobriety in conducting research that is entirely material and rational, that is, open to criticism and refutation, and with the right to make and to correct mistakes. Our site shows that the struggle against revisionism is linked to the ever less probable survival of the State of Israel, and it dares to probe into the foundations of this last dinosaur among the great, all-embracing oppressive systems that — like the many forms of fascism, the Leninist structures, colonialism and apartheid — all became extinct under the sheer weight of their contradictions, lack of realism and profound inhumanity.

French revisionists have not only spread out on the world wide web in their own language, they also provide opportunities for revisionists elsewhere to express their views in English, in German, in Spanish, and in Italian.

Everyone knows that in Germany the list of banned books is growing by the day. (In France too, by the way.) Now, after taking refuge on the Net, these banned books find new life and wider audi-

ences. For example, Judge Wilhelm Stäglich's book, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, which had been banned and copies destroyed by German court order, is now available here, in the original German version, to anyone. Out of print books, such as Lenni Brenner's fundamental work (in English) on the relationship between the Zionist movement and fascist regimes in the 30s and 40s, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, find a new lease of life on the *Aaargh* web site.

Revisionists, who are happy to feed demanding and curious minds with thoughtful literature, and who are not afraid of complex challenges, have created a system on our site by which one can easily glance at the footnotes while reading a text on screen. Even more interesting, we've built into the site a system of internal links between the texts and a biographical and bibliographical database, which provides background information and links to other documents. It gives an encyclopedic dimension to the accessible information. Without specifically intending it, we thus enhance the Internet's utility as a teaching tool. By comparing our site with others, one can readily see the advantage of presenting material in a way that is both organized and easily accessible, while also completely respecting the reader's freedom. (This has been applied to the French-language section, and will soon also be introduced to the English-language section.) The anti-revisionist sites, of which there are many, could learn something here.

In spite of repeated efforts and the burning hopes of many people in power, so far it has not been possible to impose a censorship on the Internet. Perhaps the forces of darkness will one day find a way, but not just yet. A year after its birth, this web site has an average of 400 visitors each day, which make 145,000 a year. And this is only the beginning, of course. Access to the Internet is growing fast. Later this year, those in France who have digital television will also have unrestricted access to the Internet. Whereas writings of Robert Faurisson have generally been accessible only to a limited readership, a few copies at a time, soon it will be possible instantly to access and read his writings, even without a computer, even in the most remote corners of the country.

As it must, the mainstream media will certainly try to ignore the Internet phenomenon. But at a price. Actually, it is about time to face it, to play straight, to open all the files — because revisionists have files of their own, very well organized files. And they feel so confident that they have begun publicizing (in the French-language section) files generated by their adversaries. This intellectual clash may well prove painful for quite a few historians and writers. There is no harsher treatment of the official version of history, we think, than to publish it side

by side along with a sound revisionist critique. As a result, more and more establishment historians are ridiculed (although so far none has protested being published by us). Everyone can see for himself just which emperors have no clothes.

Revisionists do not peddle ready-made truths. They understand that when speaking about atrocities and terrible human suffering, precautions must be taken. They respect all the unfortunate victims of the Second World War, as well as the many victims of atrocities since then. But they refuse to grant to the survivors, much less to those who did not live through those tragic events, the right to alter reality. They insist on the facts, and nothing but the facts.

That's why the revisionists gain such broad-based sympathy, and from people of every political outlook — sympathy that, however, cannot generally be publicly expressed because of the fear surrounding these subjects. It's not surprising, considering the way that some obnoxious but influential organizations are able to pack in dissident views with complete impunity. People fear for themselves, for their career, for their children's bread, and they shut up. But those who thus "succeed" in attaining their goal, this apparent conformity, this deafening silence of the sheep, in fact have real cause for concern. So far revisionists have been the only ones to propose an honorable way out — rational discussion. They too fear the violence that these repressed views may trigger when the pressure is too high.

Visit our web site. You'll find it at <http://www.abbc.com/aaargh>. No one asks you to agree with anything. But many people condemn revisionists without having ever read a line written by them. If you want to condemn, you should at least know why. Do it now, so that 10 or 20 years from now, you won't regret failing to have attempted a dialogue with reasonable people. Do not die ignorant. And feel free to give us your comments, observations or criticisms, even if unpolished. Write to: aaargh@abbc.com. (We can also be reached by mail at: P.O. Box 81475, Chicago, IL 60681, USA.) But please, no insults — we won't respond. (But these are rare, it must be said.) Enjoy the exchange. And don't forget that there are also dozens of anti-revisionist sites on the Web. Go and visit them. They are worthwhile indeed.

— *The International Secretariat of AAARGH*

"A teacher affects eternity. No one knows where his influence ends."

— Henry Adams

Goebbels, Frank Speech, and War Memories

DOUG COLLINS

Mastermind Unmasked

Anyone reading David Irving's book on Hitler's propaganda minister, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*, will wonder why American Jews were so keen on forcing St. Martin's Press to cancel publication.

The answer is that they hate the man. He does not believe in the six million story or in the gas chambers. Not that he mentions that in *Goebbels*. But it is a case of once damned, always damned.

They should have welcomed the book. Among other things it describes how Goebbels was a major force in persecuting the Jews and how he was even more of an anti-Semite than Hitler. Irving depicts the little cripple as "a poisonous dwarf."

As the *Gauleiter* (Regional Nazi Party Leader) of Berlin, Goebbels fought a running battle — sometimes literally — with the pre-1933 Jewish Chief of Police, Bernhard Weiss.

Time after time, Weiss and other functionaries banned Berlin's Nazi newspaper, *Der Angriff* ("Attack"). Time after time, Goebbels found himself in the courts. But neither libel laws nor "hate laws" fazed him. He relished the publicity.

All this took place against a background of infighting with the Communists, who in their left-wing way were just as Nazi as the Nazis.

The book is based in part on the Goebbels' diaries discovered in 1992 in Moscow and Irving was one of the few people who could decipher them.

Doug Collins, an award-winning journalist, has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, and is the author of several books. He served with the British army during the Second World War, and then with the British control commission in postwar occupied Germany. In September 1997 he retired as a columnist for the *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia. For more about him and his work, see "Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle" in the Jan.-Feb. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-3.

The three essays published here are reprinted, with permission, from his columns in the *North Shore News* of September 15, 1996, June 29, 1997, and November 10, 1996.

He is probably the best researcher of the Nazi period and has produced a book that is well documented and revealing.

For many years, for instance, the world press claimed that the fire that destroyed the German Parliament, the Reichstag, and helped Hitler on his road to total power was the work of the Nazis themselves rather than that of a half-crazed Dutch Communist.

The diaries show that the Nazi leaders knew nothing about it. Goebbels and Hitler were having dinner when the news came through and thought their informant, a high-ranking prankster, was having them on. But they soon turned the event to their advantage.

Irving's critics have sneered that the book portrays Goebbels as the real force behind Hitler; also that the author seeks to excuse Hitler's actions by laying them at Goebbels' door.

Not true. It is clear that for years Goebbels played a relatively distant fiddle. Without Hitler's prior knowledge he did take the initiative and unleash the Crystal Night riots of 1938 in which 191 synagogues were destroyed and the windows of thousands of Jewish stores smashed.

Hitler disapproved, if only because it would lead to world-wide condemnation.

Goebbels wasn't even consulted when the Rhineland was reoccupied in 1936. Until the last minute he knew nothing about Hitler's decision to murder Brownshirt leader Ernst Roehm and dozens of other Stormtroop leaders in the "night of the long knives."

Goebbels was in fact lucky not to be counted among the alleged conspirators.

It was not until shortly before the attack on the USSR that he knew about that, either. Not until the war against Russia was well under way did Goebbels become a member of Hitler's most intimate circle. But through thick and thin he sat at the Führer's feet.

There is of course no doubt that he was the "mastermind" of the Third Reich in terms of the brilliance of his propaganda. Hence the title. Even so, Irving says he was bested in that by Churchill.

Irving is a Churchill critic and claims Winston had a "funk hole" in Oxfordshire to which he went

when he knew London was to be bombed. Sir John Colville, Churchill's war-time secretary, has denied it. In this book, however, Irving gives that only a paragraph.

In the final days of the Nazi regime, fantasy ruled. They believed they were going to win even as the Russians approached Berlin.

The death of Roosevelt was a "sign." But in the end Goebbels did what he said he would do. He and his wife killed themselves and their six innocent children.

1933 to 1945 was a world-shaking period and if you are interested in what went on behind the Nazi scenes ask your library to get Goebbels. It's a great read.

The book costs about \$50 US and is available only from the Institute for Historical Review in Newport Beach, California, or from Focal Point Publishing in the UK.

Fighting for Frankness

The battle for a free press in Beautiful B.C. [British Columbia] has been joined in earnest. But there's one thing about it that some people may have missed: Criticizing Jewish organizations is not on.

I said that years ago, to the rage of those concerned. So when the same thing was stated in the respected and influential [London] *Sunday Telegraph* [January 5, 1997], whose editor is Jewish, it caught my eye. Columnist Kevin Myers' piece was headed: "Not all critics of Jews are anti-Semites."

He emphasized the sins of the Nazis, of course. There was no chance of his being caught in the dread "holocaust-denier" trap. But he observed that "we cannot forever be bound by the constraints" that arose as a result of what happened to the Jews in Germany.

"It is surely time," he went on, "that we were liberated from the inhibitions" that Nazi deeds have "laid upon our freedom of discussion." "At this remove we should really be able to discuss Jews and their Jewishness, their virtues or their vices, as one can any other identifiable group, without being called anti-Semitic. Frankness does not feed anti-Semitism; secrecy, however, does ... [and] it is time to be frank about Jews."

He identified four famous British "agony aunts," all Jewish.

"They have all been empresses of pelvic epics and laureates of female personal pleasure, and no doubt have helped obliterate many traditional sexual taboos." But "their utterly undiscovered Jewishness," he said, "is not irrelevant. Nor is the way it affects their approach to the sexual taboos of tradi-



Collins addresses the 1990 IHR Conference.

tional Christianity." "Would the religion of other, differently influential counsellors have been totally ignored if they were Catholic?" he asked.

Hey! That's the same dangerous question I asked with regard to Jewish influence in Hollywood. Even to draw attention to Jewish success is to risk being accused of anti-Semitism, stated Myers, as does "disdaining certain Jewish practices, like circumcision." Talk about what Jews do, he concluded, and you are "anti-Semitic."

Yes. You can discuss any other group. But you discuss the Jews at your peril. And that was what I discussed at my peril and that of the *North Shore News* in my famous, or as some would say, infamous \$200,000 column, "Hollywood propaganda."

Pardon me if I mention him again, but David Lethbridge of Salmon Arm, the Communist academic, is a Jew. I identified him as such, whereupon he went howling to the B.C. Press Council. To no effect, as it turned out.

I did it because he's big on what he calls "anti-Semitism" and "fascism." So there was a point to my pointedness. As everyone must know by now, one is not supposed to mention that the most powerful influence in Hollywood is Jewish, even though a Jew [Neal Gabler] wrote a book about it called *An Empire Of Their Own*. He can say it, others can't.

Jewish jokes are a no-no, too, unless told by a Jew. Remember how Bill Vander Zalm was put through the wringer for telling one? Front page stuff for idiotic editors.

Jewish organizations have made the deeds of the Nazis into a shield against criticism. While Jews may be the most political of all races, as Winston

Churchill once stated, we must never mention that they may sometimes boost their own at the expense of others (as in Israel). Or that in their ranks there is anyone who is less than perfect.

It's a bit like that hilarious Fawlty Towers episode in which John Cleese told the waitress who was serving weeping German guests: "Don't mention the WAR!" Except, of course, that there's nothing funny about a column that costs \$200,000. To be safe we would have to pretend that this attack against free speech was started by little green men from Mars.

Anyway, I am grateful to Kevin Myers for stating the obvious. Let's hope he doesn't end up in front of the British Thought Police.

Memories Clearer as War Recedes

*Old men forget, yet all shall be forgot
But he'll remember with advantages
what feats he did that day. — Henry V.*

Shakespeare did not have it quite right. It is true that "all shall be forgot," but the old men themselves do not forget. That's why they will be at the war memorials tomorrow.

The faster the war recedes, the more vivid become the memories. Bits may be blurred but the highlights stand out.

Those who went in at Dieppe will never forget it. Nor will those who landed on D-Day; nor those who suffered on the Burma railway under the Japanese, watching their friends die like flies.

But it is true that "all shall be forgot." Major Arthur Kavanagh, M.C., was still with us last year — M.C. standing for Military Cross, which no Canadian can now be awarded, thanks to the politicians. He's not yet forgotten, but he will be. It is one of the facts of life. And death. How many people can tell you about time charge of the Light Brigade?

By AD 2000 there will be only a relative handful of Canadians who were in the Second World War, which will have sunk 55 years into the past.

Think about that. The end of the century will be to 1940 as 1940 was to 1885. And just as the young men of 1885 could not have had the slightest idea what the world would be like in 1940, so those in 1940 had no idea what the world would be like now.

Good thing, too, or they might not have been so keen. In 1885 mechanized warfare was not even a dream. Submarine warfare was a Jules Verne phantasy. So were battles in the air. The rifle was the most common weapon. At sea, "ironclads" had made their appearance in the world's navies but sail still dominated on the oceans. A few decades before that

the "wooden walls" of Nelson's day were still around.

Time, in the words of the hymn, is like an ever rolling stream and we are rushing down it to oblivion. Values change more quickly than moods, as a glance at any newspaper will show you.

I remember, as a kid, thinking that the Germans were terrible for using submarines. Listening to the teachers on Armistice Day, and reading boys' magazines, one felt that they were rotten sports. Submarines were a low blow. Even worse was the flamethrower. If old Jerry ever tried it again, we'd show him, by God.

But in due course napalm would be used on villages in Vietnam and nuclear subs would roam the world, ready to wipe out whole cities. Countries, even. Cruise missiles would be aimed at Middle East peasants.

Empires — including what used to be called the "the greatest empire the world has ever known" — would disappear and there would be more wars than ever, even if smaller ones.

The men and women of 1940 who joined up to wallop the bad guys were innocents abroad. Many had no real idea what they were fighting for. Joining up was simply something that was done. In 1944 I asked a Canadian lady who was working in a YWCA canteen in High Wycombe [England] why she had come over. (In those days there were lots of ladies. "Wymin" hadn't been invented.) It was a dumb question but in those days I was even dumber than I am now.

"I'm from British Columbia," she said, "and back home everyone was asking, 'What are you going to do for the war effort?'" I thought fleetingly that British Columbia might be somewhere in South America.

We now know what the British Columbians did. But it has to be repeated that they had no idea what things would be like 50 years on. You know: Human Rights Gestapos, most jokes a no-no, smoking a social offence, etc.

Would they have been so keen if they had known? Ask the old men who will soon be forgotten. And ask the youngsters of today whether they would be so ready to fight as were their grandfathers.

I doubt it. Maybe they have more brains.

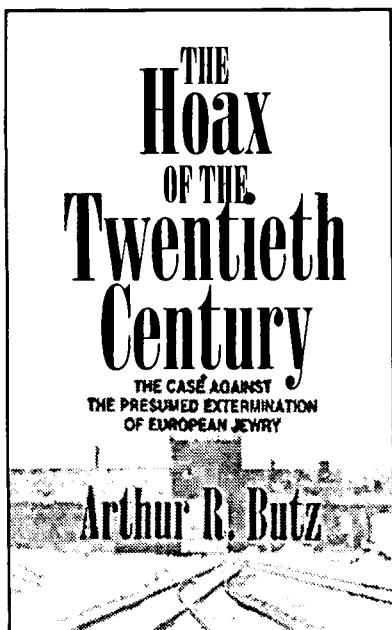
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The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which

do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its tenth US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly

A major advance for historical revisionism in Europe is the appearance of a new German-language scholarly journal, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*. Now in its second year of publication, this "Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Research" offers first-rate writing and editing, and a high level of scholarship, presented in an attractively laid out and well-illustrated large-size magazine format. This periodical is a defiant response to Germany's increasingly tighter legal and administrative curbs on free historical research and writing. As a consequence of these restrictions, *VffG* must be published in exile.

The first, 58-page issue of *VffG*, dated March 1997, includes several essays by Germar Rudolf, thoughtful writing by Robert Faurisson on the Garaudy-Abbé Pierre affair in France, as well as several pages of short news items and a four-page listing (with descriptions) of German-language books available for sale.

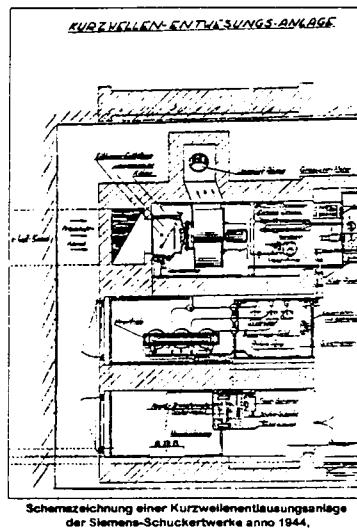
The 82-page issue of March 1998 begins with a well-done editorial essay on the increasing repression of free speech and dissident historical scholarship in western Europe, along with several substantive articles or essays, four book reviews, five pages of readers' letters, and eight pages of short news items.

This issue contains a valuable eleven-page article by two German engineers, Michael Gärtner and Werner Rademacher, on the significance of the high ground water level at Birkenau (Auschwitz). Citing an impressive array of evidence, including confidential wartime German documents that only recently have become accessible to independent researchers, this article conclusively discredits often-repeated allegations that in 1941-1944 Auschwitz authorities disposed of hundreds of thousands of corpses of Jewish victims in "burning pits."

Also in this issue is a valuable nine-and-a-half-page essay by Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno, "The 'Gasprüfer' of Auschwitz," which cites revealing Auschwitz documents he discovered in Moscow archives. Quoted here for the first time, these documents further confirm the extraordinary measures taken by the German authorities to combat the terrible epidemics that ravaged the camp population

Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung

2. Jahrgang · Heft 2 · Juni 1998



Schemazeichnung einer Kurzwellenelementauslassanlage der Siemens-Schuckertwerke anno 1944, wie im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau eingesetzt

In den Archiven liegt die Wahrheit

↳ Moderne Entlausungstechnik:
Wie die SS im KL Auschwitz mit
High-Tech Häftlingsleben zu
retten versuchte, S. 87

↳ Gaskammern im KL Majdanek:
Die weltweit erste sachliche
Studie über die angeblichen
Gaskammern im KL Majdanek,
S. 106

↳ Das Bild als Verführer:
Wie mit alter Sowjetblock-
Propaganda die Zeitgeschichte
manipuliert wird, S. 120

↳ Korrektur eines Fehlurteils:
Wie Überlebende mit falschen
Angaben überhöhte Wiedergut-
machungen erscheinen, S. 133

↳ Opferrolle als Machtmittel:
Der Mythos von der Vernichtung
Homosexueller im Dritten Reich,
S. 135

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and took so many lives.

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A Courageous Editor

VffG editor Germar Rudolf (Scheerer), born in October 1964, is a certified chemist who was forced to flee his native Germany in 1996 for expressing dissident historical views. He is perhaps best known as the author of a detailed 1993 study that is widely known simply as *The Rudolf Report*. Written on the basis of an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples, and meticulous research, it concludes that the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz were never

used to kill prisoners as alleged. [An English-language summary edition is available through the IHR for \$5.99, plus shipping.]

This "Technical Report on the Formation and Detection of Cyanide Compounds in the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz" corroborates and strengthens the findings of earlier forensic investigations of purported Auschwitz "gas chambers," particularly that of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter. (For more on *The Rudolf Report*, see the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 25-26, and the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 14-15.)

Following the publication of his *Report*, and protests from Jewish community leaders, Rudolf was fired from his position with the prestigious Max Planck Institute in Stuttgart. While he was still living in Germany, police carried out raids on his residence in 1993, 1994 and 1995, and he and his family were twice evicted from their apartment, once when his wife was eight months pregnant.

A Stuttgart court declared that the *Rudolf Report* constitutes "denial of the systematic mass murder of the Jewish population in gas chambers," and therefore violates German laws against "popular incitement," "incitement to racial hatred," and "defamation." The judge in the case called Rudolf an anti-Semite who is "fanatically committed" to "denying the Holocaust." The court rejected Rudolf's request for evidence and expert testimony on the gas chamber issue because, it declared, "the mass murder of the Jews" is "obvious" (*offenkundig*).

After a German court in 1995 sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, Rudolf fled the country to avoid serving the politically motived sentence.

Rudolf is also the editor of or contributor to four important revisionist anthologies: *Vorlesungen zur Zeitgeschichte* and *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (published in 1993 and 1994 by Grabert Verlag in Tübingen under his pen name of Ernst Gauss), as well as *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (1995) and *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (formally edited by H. Verbeke, and published in Belgium in 1995 and 1996 by VHO). An English-language edition of *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* is scheduled for publication later this year.

German authorities went after Rudolf for his role in writing and editing the *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*. (On this work, see the report in the May-June 1995 *Journal*, p. 43.) In 1996 a German court ordered all remaining *Grundlagen* copies to be seized and burned, and it fined the publisher DM 30,000 (about \$18,000).

Rudolf has also defended his findings, and the principle of free historical inquiry, in articles published in the German journals *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen), *Sleipnir* (Berlin), and *Staatsbriefe* (Munich). On January 1,



Germar Rudolf at Auschwitz-Birkenau, taking samples from the ruins of the mortuary cellar room — the supposed "gas chamber" — of crematory structure II.

1996, authorities in Munich raided the office of the publisher of the monthly *Staatsbriefe* to seize copies of issue 6/1995, in part because of an article by Rudolf. The police also searched for manuscripts of additional writings by him. Similar police measures have been taken against *Sleipnir* publisher Andreas Röhler, in part because of articles by Rudolf.

The VHO Foundation

Rudolf's *VffG* journal is published in cooperation with the Foundation for Free Historical Research, or Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (VHO), based in Flanders, Belgium. For some years now, the VHO Foundation has been one of Europe's most important revisionist publishing centers. From its headquarters near Antwerp, the VHO publishes and distributes a range of revisionist materials in Dutch, French, German and English, as well as an informative multi-lingual newsletter. (See "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech" in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 46.)

Belgian authorities have not been pleased with the VHO's work. In response to the distribution at a meeting in November 6, 1997, of VHO booklets about the Goldhagen controversy, police recently carried out raids on four homes or offices of VHO associates. During these three raids — on November 21 and 29, 1997, and January 7, 1998 — Belgian police seized a large number of books and other items. However, they were unable to seize mailing lists, records of customers or similar information, because such records are not kept in Belgium.

Review Essay

What Causes Anti-Semitism?

An Important New Look at the Persistent 'Jewish Question'

Separation and its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism, by Kevin MacDonald. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998. 325 pages. Source references. Bibliography. Index. \$65.00. [Available for sale from the IHR]

Reviewed by Peter Harrison

Of all the taboos in American society, none is more powerful than that which limits public discussion about Jews. Though they are only three percent of the population, Jews play a disproportionately powerful — and sometimes decisive — role in the cultural and political affairs of the United States. Jews are so powerful, in fact, that they have been largely successful in suppressing public discussion of their power. As Joseph Sobran once observed, any American writer who begins to describe the extent of Jewish influence quickly gets the message: you must pretend that we are powerless victims, and if you don't respect our victimhood, we'll destroy you.

Even within this great taboo, some subjects are more taboo than others, and Kevin MacDonald, a professor of psychology at California State University at Long Beach, has just published a remarkable volume that tackles head-on what may be the most diligently suppressed question of our time: Why do people hate Jews?

In contrast to the generally available treatments of this issue, MacDonald has produced a study of rare, even shocking forthrightness and scope. One would have to go back at least 50 years to find anything comparable to this extraordinary work. It is serious, exhaustively researched, and relentlessly factual. Given the prevailing structure of taboos, it is pure nitroglycerin.

Separation and its Discontents is the second of a three-volume study issued by Praeger, a leading American academic publisher, that explores Jewish behavior as a "group evolutionary strategy." In the first volume, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone* (published in 1994), MacDonald establishes the intellectual framework for his analysis. Judaism, he argues, is a collective strategy for group survival based on religious teachings that emphasize genetic

and cultural separation from others, and an explicit double standard of morality — altruism and cooperation among Jews, but competition with gentiles (non-Jews). Fierce devotion to the group, combined with religious prohibitions against intermarriage have preserved the integrity of Jewish peoplehood despite a history that would have dissolved most other tribal allegiances. In competition with other groups, loyalty and subordination to the group provide a decisive evolutionary advantage. Even small numbers of group-oriented Jews, acting together, can exert considerable influence over the loosely-organized non-Jewish populations among whom they live.

Jews have, however, paid a price for their extraordinary capacity for group survival. The volume under review here is a study of how non-Jews have responded to distinctly Jewish patterns of behavior. MacDonald persuasively argues that most of what is called "anti-Semitism" is an entirely understandable reaction to Jewish group activities that compete directly with non-Jews. Hostility toward Jews in Western societies has closely mirrored Jewish behavior. Gentiles who ordinarily have only loose group loyalties react to the intense, "ingroup-outgroup" consciousness of Jews by forming their own authoritarian, group-oriented structures in order to compete with Jews.

A People Apart

Today it is essentially obligatory to describe anti-Semitism as irrational hatred for an unoffending people, but MacDonald argues that anti-Jewish sentiment has been too persistent and widespread to be so easily dismissed: "The remarkable thing about anti-Semitism is that there is an overwhelming similarity in the complaints made about Jews in different places and over very long stretches of historical time." Moreover, antipathy toward Jews does not arise only in certain kinds of societies, but rather seems to be a nearly universal phenomenon: "There is evidence for anti-Semitism in a very wide range of both Western and non-Western societies, in Christian and non-Christian societies, and in pre-capitalist, capitalist, and socialist societies."

To what, then, is anti-Semitism a reaction? One of the most salient Jewish characteristics, Mac-

Peter Harrison is the pen name of an East Coast businessman with a keen interest in history who has traveled widely in Europe and Asia.

Donald shows, has been a group identification so strong that it implies the insignificance of non-Jews: "At the extreme, when there is very powerful commitment to the Jewish ingroup, the world becomes divided into two groups, Jews and gentiles, with the latter becoming a homogenized mass with no defining features at all except that they are non-Jews."

Even the ancients noted a strong sense of cohesion among Jews. "See how unanimously they stick together, how influential they are in politics," wrote the Roman statesman Cicero. Under the Romans, Jewish group behavior was a constant source of conflict. Although the government of Rome generally protected the Jews from repeated outbursts of popular hostility throughout the empire, the Jews never reconciled themselves to Roman rule. No other subject people of the Roman empire, MacDonald writes, "engaged in prolonged, even suicidal wars against the government in order to attain national sovereignty."

In the Middle Ages Jews showed a similarly fanatic group loyalty. During the first Crusade when, faced with the grim choice of conversion to Christianity or death, they readily chose to die *en masse*. Men killed their wives and children and then offered their own necks to the sword rather than betray their heritage. "Such examples," writes MacDonald, "suggest that there are no conceivable circumstances that would cause such people to abandon the group ..." Nor, he argues, has such fanaticism completely disappeared. He cites the 1997 case of an American Jew who killed his two children because his ex-wife intended to rear them as Christians.

In keeping with current findings on the substantial heritability of personality traits, MacDonald cites evidence to show that the strong Jewish group orientation has a biological basis. Historically, Jews who have not clung to the group, or have not been willing to sacrifice for it, have defected or been expelled, meaning that those who remained had a firmly collective orientation. This helps explain why Jews are over-represented today in religious cults, and that many cultists come from non-religious Jewish families. MacDonald suggests that cults may answer the need for group affiliation for Jews who have slipped out of the orbit of Judaism.

Members of every ethnic, racial, national and religious group like to think well of themselves. While a positive self-image is normal among all peoples, it is pronouncedly true of Jews, who have long regarded themselves as a superior people. MacDonald quotes Nahum Goldmann, former president of the World Jewish Congress, about the attitude of Jews in early 20th century Lithuania toward the non-Jews amongst whom they lived: "Every Jew felt ten or a hundred times the superior of these lowly



President Clinton with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at a White House news conference in February 1997. On this occasion, the Zionist leader praised Clinton as "an exceptional friend of Israel." As Prof. MacDonald explains in *Separation and its Discontents*, throughout history Jewish leaders have been adept at making strategic alliances with non-Jewish political figures to further Jewish group interests.

tillers of the soil." Feelings of this kind, MacDonald notes, are mandated by the Talmud and other Jewish religious writings. Similarly, the great Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides described gentiles as unclean and unworthy of the treatment reserved for fellow Jews. It was therefore typical of ghetto Jews to call a stupid Jew a *goyisher kop*, or gentile head. MacDonald argues that even today, the idea that Jews are a morally superior "chosen people" is a central feature of Jewish identity. Gentiles have not failed to notice and resent this attitude.

Another universal complaint about Jews has been that they are more loyal to their own people than to the nation in which they live, that they constitute "a nation within a nation." While many Jews have deceitfully denied such parochial loyalties, others have proclaimed them openly. MacDonald quotes Stephen Wise, president during the 1930s of the American Jewish Congress: "I am not an American citizen of the Jewish faith, I am a Jew." And further: "I have been an American for 63/64ths of my life, but I have been a Jew for four thousand years." Harvard Sociologist Daniel Bell writes of "the outward life of an American and the inward secret of the Jew. I walk with this sign as a frontlet between



Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, believed that hostility toward Jews was a natural reaction to Jewish behavior. "I find the anti-Semites are fully within their rights," he wrote. This 1960 Israeli postage stamp honors Herzl and his work.

my eyes, and it is as visible to some secret others as their sign is to me."

Minorities that hold themselves aloof are usually disliked. In Europe, the unpopularity of Jews was compounded by their choice of professions. Jews were middlemen and merchants, often disdaining the hard physical labor done by gentile commoners. Because Christians were forbidden to lend at interest, Jews monopolized the money-lending trade, and during the Middle Ages charged annual rates of 20 to 40 percent. MacDonald notes that part of this profit was handed over to kings and aristocrats in taxes, and that it was common for Jews to make alliances with gentile elites.

Another common Jewish profession was that of tax farmers — that is, they "paid a fixed sum to the nobility for the right to obtain as much in taxes as they could from the Christian population." Jews were "ideal tax farmers" because they "could be trusted to treat the gentiles as an outgroup and maximize the king's revenues." Because they did not think of themselves as part of the nation, they had fewer scruples about extracting even the most

painful taxes. Jews were known for sharp practice, and accordingly were often resented by the common people, but the gentile nobility, which found them useful, frequently protected them against uprisings.

Jews are smart. As MacDonald notes, Jews score, on average, a full standard deviation higher than Caucasian gentiles on intelligence tests, and he attributes this higher intelligence primarily to genetic differences. Jews have therefore been very successful in their chosen fields. However, he goes on, "the success of these pursuits and the fact that these pursuits inevitably conflict with the interests of groups of gentiles (or at least are perceived to conflict with them) is, in the broadest sense, the most important source of anti-Semitism."

Assimilation and Expulsion

Over the centuries, host nations have taken various approaches toward this group that refused to fully assimilate. Throughout Christendom the authorities tried to convert Jews, sometimes forcibly, and when this failed they often expelled them. The French experience, MacDonald writes, was typical:

In 12th-13th-century France there was a shift from a policy of toleration combined with attempts to convert Jews under Louis IX to a policy of "convert or depart" during the reign of Philip IV, and finally the expulsion of Jews in 1306. The final expulsion order is also a last plea for Jewish assimilation: "Every Jew must leave my land, taking none of his possessions with him; or, let him choose a new God for himself, and we will become *One People*." [Italics in the original]

Spain, to which MacDonald devotes considerable attention, proceeded to forcible conversions in 1391 and then to expulsion in 1492. However, many converts, or "New Christians" as they were called, continued to socialize and marry only among themselves, and to cooperate professionally with each other, so conversion had little effect on group behavior. This was a major reason for the Inquisition. But, as MacDonald points out, Jews in Spain were persecuted not for who they were but for what they did:

The real crime in the eyes of the Iberians was that the Jews who had converted in 1391 were racialists in disguise, and this was the case even if they sincerely believed in Christianity while nevertheless continuing to marry endogamously and to engage in political and economic cooperation within the group ... It was not the extent of Jewish ancestry that was a crime, but the intentional involvement in a group evolutionary strategy.

Those New Christians who abandoned parochial loyalties and embraced the Spanish nation along with the Christian faith had little to fear from the Inquisition.

In later periods, when European Jews were emancipated from the myriad restrictions of the ghetto, host countries expected Jews to assimilate completely. Instead, they soon faced the same dilemma as had the Spanish. As one Jewish historian writes, "Jewish Emancipation had been tacitly tied to an illusory expectation — the disappearance of the Jewish community of its own volition. When this failed to happen ... a certain uneasiness, not to say a sense of outright scandal, was experienced by Gentiles." Far from wholly embracing the larger society, many Jews continued to marry only among themselves, and to consider themselves a people apart. Rather than promote intermarriage, some zealous Jews advocated Zionism (Jewish nationalism) as a modern and non-religious means of keeping Jews apart from Gentiles.

Many Jews recognized that such strong particularism was not acceptable to gentiles. Theodor Herzl, the main founder of modern political Zionism, regarded anti-Semitism as "an understandable reaction to Jewish defects ..." "I find the anti-Semites are fully within their rights," he also wrote.

Similarly, Chaim Weizmann, for decades an important Zionist leader and Israel's first president, observed:

Whenever the quantity of Jews in any country reaches the saturation point, that country reacts against them ... [This] reaction ... cannot be looked upon as anti-Semitism in the ordinary or vulgar sense of that world; it is a universal social and economic concomitant of Jewish immigration and we cannot shake it off.

MacDonald argues that it is this refusal to assimilate, even on terms of equality, while at the same time pushing a separate agenda, that finally leads to the harshest extremes of anti-Semitism:

A related common thread [in the European experience with Jews] has been that there is a tendency to shift away from attempts at complete cultural and genetic assimilation of Jews in the early stages of group conflict, followed eventually by the rise of collectivist, authoritarian anti-Semitic group strategies aimed at exclusion, expulsion, or genocide when it is clear that efforts at assimilation have failed.

MacDonald finds it significant that European nations have almost invariably proposed complete cultural and biological assimilation, but that it is Jews who have rejected this. "The fact that Western societies have typically attempted to convert and assimilate Jews before excluding them indicates

that Western societies, unlike the prototypical Jewish cultures, do not have a primitive concern with racial purity." MacDonald argues that Western societies are, by nature, individualistic rather than group-oriented, and that this is the perfect environment for any "outgroup" that pursues a collective strategy. By acting in concert, Jews can successfully advance particularist interests that may conflict with those of the host population.

In comparison to the West, Jews have found it much more difficult to penetrate Muslim societies:

One prominent Jewish historian, Louis Namier, has gone so far as to say that there is no Jewish history, "only a Jewish martyrology."

"These 'segmentary' societies organized around discrete groups appear to be much more efficient than Western individualistic societies in keeping Jews in a powerless position ..."

Christianity and National Socialism

It is in the context of his characterization of Western societies that MacDonald makes some of his most arresting arguments: "The individualism typical of Western societies is an ideal environment for Judaism as a cohesive group strategy, but as Jews become increasingly successful politically, economically and demographically, Western societies have tended to develop collectivist group structures directed at Jews as a hated outgroup." In other words, the group activities of Jews can become so successful and threatening that the larger society adopts collective, anti-Jewish responses that imitate Jewish behaviors. The two most striking examples described by MacDonald are Christianity and National Socialism.

In what may be one of his most surprising arguments, MacDonald contends that the authoritarian structure and cohesiveness of the early Christian church (second to fifth centuries) was a reaction to the cohesiveness of Judaism:

The entire thrust of the [church-supported] legislation that emerged during this period was to erect walls of separation between Jews and gentiles, to solidify the gentile group, and to make all gentiles aware of who the "enemy" was. Whereas these walls had been established and maintained previously only by Jews, in this new period of intergroup conflict the gentiles were raising walls between themselves and Jews.



Louis Brandeis, a prominent Jewish community leader and the first Jew to be appointed to the US Supreme Court, said that "to be good Americans we must be better Jews; to be better Jews we must be Zionists."

The leading figures in shaping the early Church — Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyril — were ferocious anti-Semites whose hostility toward Jews reflected the nearly universal attitude of early Christians. These early Church fathers, MacDonald further notes, did not attempt to convert Jews, but regarded them as members of an essentially alien group against whom Christians should define themselves, just as Jews defined themselves in contrast to gentiles. He notes that Constantine the Great, the emperor who in 313 issued the edict legalizing Christianity throughout the empire, was so hostile to Jewish power and influence that a good case can be made that his Christianity, at least in part, was a means of promoting anti-Jewish policies.

German National Socialism, MacDonald contends, "is a true mirror-image of Judaism. Not surprisingly it was also the most dangerous enemy that Judaism has confronted in its entire history." Although Christianity may have established group cohesiveness in response to Jewish solidarity, its theology pushed it toward universalism and even pacifism.

Hitler's militant movement, on the other hand, had no such constraints, and therefore, MacDonald contends, had more in common with Jewish particularism:

As in the case of Judaism, there was a strong emphasis [by the National Socialists] on racial purity and on the primacy of group ethnic interests rather than individual interests. Like the Jews, the National Socialists were greatly concerned with eugenics. Like the Jews, there was a powerful concern with socializing group members into accepting group goals and with the importance of within-group altruism and cooperation in attaining these goals.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an intellectual forebear of National Socialism, wrote explicitly that the extraordinary ability of Jews to maintain racial distinctiveness and historical continuity was something to both fear and to imitate.

The Hitler Youth organization, MacDonald points out, was very successful in fostering in young Germans a fervent sense of identity with and loyalty to the (national) group. The ardent group identification promoted by National Socialism, MacDonald argues, deviated from traditional Western individualism, and bears unmistakable features of Judaism.

Some Jews recognized and applauded these similarities. Joachim Prinz, a German-born rabbi who later became head of the American Jewish Congress, wrote of Hitlerite Germany:

A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind ... For only he who honors his *own* breed and his *own* blood can have an attitude of honor toward the *national will of other nations*. [Italics in the original]

In MacDonald's view, the Third Reich emphasis on race, group, loyalty, and devotion was a deviation from the Western tradition of individualism. In order to compete with Jews, Germans had to become more like Jews and less like Germans. This drastic response to Jewish behavior, MacDonald contends, is part of a predictable pattern:

While Judaism flourishes in a classical liberal, individualist society, ultimately Judaism is incompatible with such a society, because it unleashes powerful group-based competitions for resources within the society, which in turn leads to highly collectivist gentile movements incompatible with individualism.

MacDonald's view that the presence of Jews turns Europeans away from their own social and cultural heritage is indeed provocative — and he

promises to flesh it out in *A Culture of Critique*, the forthcoming final part of his three-volume study.

Deception and Self-Deception

Jews have developed highly sophisticated methods to combat the resistance they have everywhere encountered. MacDonald categorizes these methods as either deception or self-deception, the purposes of which are to conceal Jewish particularity and the extent to which Jewish objectives may conflict with those of others. One of the most common Jewish deceptions, he notes, is to pretend (at least to non-Jews) that Jews constitute merely a religious group. Accordingly, Jewish leaders often denounce anti-Semitism as a form of *religious* bigotry.

In fact, MacDonald points out, Jewry has always had important characteristics of a race or nation. He quotes one Jewish historian who frankly acknowledges: "The definition of the Jewish community as a purely religious unit was, of course, a sham from the time of its conception." Another Jewish author on Germany in the early 20th century stated: "Liberal laymen ... were in the mass irreversibly secularized Jews, who called themselves religious principally to escape suspicion that their Judaism might be national." Or as Stephen Wise bluntly put it: "Hitler was right in one thing. He calls the Jewish people a race and we are a race."

In this regard, MacDonald notes a long tradition of Jewish conversions to Christianity that were merely tactical deceptions. He quotes the German poet Heinrich Heine, who was baptized but later in life wrote, "I make no secret of my Judaism, to which I have not returned, because I have not left it."

Another common Jewish deception is to conceal the true nature of Jewish thought. For example, Jewish authorities sometimes remove anti-gentile passages from translations of classic Hebrew texts. In Israel, where there is no fear of persecution, these texts are published intact. Likewise, Jews generally prefer that gentiles be unaware of internal Jewish debates. MacDonald quotes two German Reform rabbis from the early 20th century: "As long as the Zionists wrote in Hebrew, they were not dangerous. Now that they write in German it is necessary to oppose them."

Yet another common Jewish deception is to hide Jewish influence and interests by giving them a gentile appearance. Thus, MacDonald notes, when the New York Civil Liberties Union challenged prayer in New York schools it camouflaged the primarily Jewish interest in the issue by having its one non-Jewish lawyer argue the case in public.

Jewish Communists have long tried to hide the tremendous role played by Jews in Marxism-Leninism. As MacDonald notes: "CPUSA [Communist Party USA] leaders were greatly concerned

that the party image was too Jewish, with the result that Jewish members were encouraged to adopt non-Jewish-sounding names, and there were active (largely unsuccessful) efforts to recruit gentile members."

Although Jews have worked consciously to advance their own group political interests, they have routinely tried to give the impression that they

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have no interests that differ from those of the larger society. MacDonald notes, for example, the forceful efforts of European and American Jews in the 19th and early 20th centuries to topple the Tsarist regime in Russia. This campaign, which was really motivated by concern for the well being of fellow Jews in the Russian empire, was contrary to the interests of the United States and the western Europe states, which supported the Tsar, or least benefited from stable relations with Russia's ardently Christian regime.

Another example is the deceitful, ceaseless public-relations effort by Jewish organizations (and their non-Jewish political allies in the mass media and the two major parties) to portray United States support for Israel as somehow beneficial to American interests.

Double Standard

A good example of Jewish self-deception, MacDonald writes, is the persistent unwillingness of Jews to acknowledge any contradiction in preaching universalistic equality for others while maintaining an exclusivist group identity for themselves. Jews have commonly thought of themselves as "a light unto the nations," whose historic role is to instruct other peoples in universal moral principles. In recent years one of the most conspicuous of these principles is that distinctions among nations, peoples, races, and cultures are artificial, and that to insist on such distinctions is immoral. As MacDonald points out, Jews act as if this is a principle that applies only to others. He goes on to explain



President Harry Truman welcomes Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann, who served as Israel's first president, to the White House, May 1948. As Prof. MacDonald notes in *Separation and its Discontents*, Jewish groups pressured Truman into authorizing United States support for Zionist ambitions in Palestine. He decided to recognize the new state of Israel against the advice of his most trusted counselors, who warned that such support would have dangerous long-term consequences. Truman himself commented: "I do not think I ever had so much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance."

how this double standard serves Jewish interests:

At the extreme, the acceptance of a universalist ideology by gentiles would result in their not perceiving Jews as in a different social category at all, while nevertheless Jews would be able to maintain a strong personal identity as Jews.

Typical of the way Jews like to regard themselves is this self-flattering description by Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis:

I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts, a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence, the fruit of three thousand years of civilization. These experiences have made me feel that the Jewish people have something which should be saved for the world ...

Brandeis goes on to note: "to be good Americans we must be better Jews; to be better Jews we must be Zionists."

Sentiments of this kind, MacDonald contends, are either an attempt to deceive others or examples of self-deception. Brandeis is urging Jews to become

better Americans by asserting a *non-American* identity — something he would never suggest to any other ethnic group. Presumably, this is legitimate because Zionism will preserve for the world the desirable qualities Brandeis has discovered in his own people. As MacDonald notes, "Jews must retain their distinctiveness from the surrounding culture in order to fulfill their destiny to humanize and civilize all of humanity" — this, despite the fact that part of their civilizing mission is the obliteration of distinctions among peoples.

This Jewish strategy of breaking down cultural, ethnic, racial and religious distinctions among non-Jews while fostering a high level of Jewish particularism has an understandable goal, MacDonald explains:

A multicultural society in which Jews are simply one of many tolerated groups is likely to meet Jewish interests, because there is a diffusion of power among a variety of groups and it becomes impossible to develop homogeneous gentile ingroups arrayed against Jews as a highly conspicuous outgroup.

In other words, Jews are most successful when they operate among "tolerant" populations with a feeble sense of racial, ethnic, cultural or religious self-awareness.

Victimhood Mentality

Persecution and victimhood have long been central features of Jewish self-identity, MacDonald contends: "Jewish religious consciousness centers to a remarkable extent around the memory of persecution. Persecution is a central theme of the holidays of Passover, Hanukkah, Purim, and Yom Kippur." One prominent Jewish historian, Louis Namier, has gone so far as to say that there is no Jewish history, "only a Jewish martyrology."

MacDonald cites the words of the influential American Jewish writer Michael Lerner, who points out that such leading American Jewish groups as the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center have built their financial appeal to Jews on their "ability to portray the Jewish people as surrounded by enemies who are on the verge on launching threatening anti-Semitic campaigns." These organizations, Lerner goes on, have "a professional stake in exaggerating the dangers ..."

An important feature of the Jewish pattern of self-deception, MacDonald explains, is to exaggerate anti-Jewish sentiment in order to bolster Jewish group identity and cohesion. According to a 1985 survey, one third of San Francisco-area Jews expressed the view that anti-Semitism was so widespread that a Jew could not be elected to Congress — even though at the time three of the four area

congressional representatives were well-identified Jews, as were both state senators and the mayor of San Francisco.

In recent decades, the “Holocaust” has come to play a primary role in fostering the “eternal victim” self-identity. Citing works by the Jewish scholars Michael Wolffsohn and Jacob Neusner, MacDonald notes that Jewish leaders work “with great success to use awareness of the Holocaust to intensify Jewish commitment, to the point that the Holocaust rather than religion has become the main focus of modern Jewish identity and the principal legitimator of Israel.”

So successful has this campaign been that according to a recent survey, 85 percent of American Jews say that the Holocaust is “very important” to their sense of being Jewish — a higher figure than the percentage of those who say that God, the Torah, or the state of Israel are “very important.” Jewish historian Zygmunt Bauman, MacDonald also notes, has pointed out that Israel uses the Holocaust “as a certificate of its political legitimacy, as safe-conduct pass for its past and future policies, and, above all, for advance payment for the injustices it might itself commit.”

Promoting Jewish Interests

“In all historical eras,” MacDonald observes, “Jews as a group have been highly organized, highly intelligent, and politically astute, and they have been able to command a high level of financial, political and intellectual resources in pursuing their group goals.” Jews have wielded their great power and influence, he goes on to note, “in establishing and maintaining governments that promote Jewish interests ... This Jewish influence is often obtained by financial contributions, manipulation of public opinion via control of the media, and political activism ...”

In this regard MacDonald notes that “another Jewish media interest has been to promote positive portrayals of Jews and combat negative images.” Major Jewish organizations, he goes on to report, quietly developed a “formal liaison with the [Hollywood] studios by which depictions of Jews would be subjected to censorship” and “scripts were altered to provide more positive portrayals of Jews.”

Through their considerable role in the media, especially in television and motion pictures, the Jewish impact on every aspect of American life has been an enormous one. MacDonald reports that many Americans who are dismayed about what they regard as the socially harmful impact of television and cinema recognize the significant Jewish role in this process, but do not mention it “because of fear of being charged with anti-Semitism.”

A good example cited by MacDonald of how orga-

nized Jewry successfully wields power to further its interests is the 1948 effort to get President Truman to authorize United States support for Zionist ambitions in Palestine. He finally did so against the advice of his most trusted advisors, including Secretary of State George Marshall, who warned that US backing for the new Zionist state of Israel would have harmful long-term consequences for American interests. Truman himself commented: “I do not think I ever had so much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance.”

Another example cited by MacDonald of organized Jewry’s remarkable clout is its role in pushing

According to a 1985 survey, one third of San Francisco-area Jews expressed the view that anti-Semitism was so widespread that a Jew could not be elected to Congress — even though at the time three of the four area congressional representatives were well-identified Jews, as were both state senators and the mayor of San Francisco.

for liberal US immigration policies. For more than a century Jews have been at the forefront of efforts to alter the ethnic-racial composition of the United States by promoting non-European immigration. Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, he notes, have played a major role in this campaign, although often behind the scenes.

These Jewish efforts have greatly accelerated the transformation of the United States into a “multicultural” society in which the prevailing majority of European ancestry is rapidly being reduced to a minority. An important milestone in this decades-long campaign came with the enactment of the 1965 immigration law reform, which replaced a long-standing policy of favoring immigration from Europe to one that opened the door to massive non-white immigration from Third World countries.

Combatting Anti-Semitism

For centuries, MacDonald shows, organized Jewry has been adept at promoting its interests in the field of public relations and propaganda — aimed at both scholarly and popular audiences, and often hiring prominent non-Jews to “front” for them in defending Jewish goals.

As MacDonald notes, Jews have traditionally employed



Jews are behind a "worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization," wrote Winston Churchill in an essay published in 1920 in the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald*. The role of Jews in the Bolshevik takeover of Russia, he went on, "is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others."

image-management strategies, including recruiting gentiles to support Jewish causes as well as controlling the public image of Judaism via censorship of defamatory materials and the dissemination of scholarly material supporting Jewish interests.

Jewish organizations "have used their power to make the discussion of Jewish interests off limits," MacDonald notes, putting great effort into making anti-Semitism unsavory and socially disreputable. Moreover, he observes, "individuals who had made remarks critical of Jews were forced to make public apologies and suffered professional difficulties as a result."

In this regard, MacDonald cites the successful April 1996 campaign by Jewish journalists and organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, to pressure St. Martin's Press, a major New York publisher, into cancelling publication of British historian David Irving's biography of Goebbels.

To conceal the self-serving nature of such efforts, Jewish groups routinely describe them as fighting "hate" or combatting "bigotry." Jewish organizations in the United States accordingly try to gain support from non-Jews for their efforts by castigating anti-Semitism as "un-American," just as Jewish groups in Germany during the 1870-1914 period sought support from gentiles by denouncing anti-Semitism as "un-German."

A Dying People?

"If anti-Semitism did not exist," writes MacDonald, "it would have to be invented." Indeed,

some Jews have argued that because anti-Semitism sharpens Jewish identity, Judaism may not survive without it. Many Jewish leaders are alarmed that because the United States, in particular, is so welcoming of Jews, they lose all inhibitions about assimilating. Intermarriage is the ultimate act of assimilation, and conservative Jews see it as the ultimate danger. (MacDonald quotes the Jewish philosopher Emil Fackenheim to the effect that a Jew who marries a gentile gives Hitler a posthumous victory, because if all Jews marry gentiles Jews will cease to exist.) The United States, according to this argument, is "loving Jews to death."

There is accordingly some concern among American Jews that they will disappear as a distinct people. But MacDonald does not share this view: "Reports of the demise of Judaism — the 'ever-dying people' — are greatly exaggerated." Over the millennia, he observes, some Jews have always been lost to Judaism as they married out, lost their tribal identities, and assimilated. Those who do not are always the most loyal, and it is this solid core that has always ensured Jewish survival and perpetuation.

Anyway, Jews historically have not had to worry much about insufficient levels of anti-Semitism. As MacDonald notes, the very customs that maintain Jewish solidarity — a clear ingroup-outgroup dual morality, promotion of group interests, and resistance to marrying outside the group — are precisely the factors that foster anti-Jewish sentiment. Consequently, he writes, Jews have been careful to strike a balance: "The best strategy for Judaism is to maximize the ethnic, particularistic aspects of Judaism within the limits necessary to prevent these aspects from resulting in [excessive or murderous] anti-Semitism."

Intellectuals on the Offensive

Jewish intellectuals, MacDonald writes, "have also gone on the offensive" in developing and promoting important social-intellectual movements aimed at altering the fundamental categorization process among gentiles in a manner that is perceived by the participants to advance Jewish group interests."

He is referring here to influential liberal and leftist causes, especially in this century, in which Jews have played key roles. These movements have included the "civil rights" movement of the 1940s, 50s and 60s, the campaign to promote racial egalitarianism (in which Jewish anthropologist Franz Boas played a central role), critiques of nationalism and "racism," the "new left" of the 1960s and 70s, Freudian psychoanalysis, and promotion of homosexuality and feminism.

Probably the most important of these movements has been Communism, which was founded by

the German-Jewish scholar Karl Marx. As MacDonald notes, even Winston Churchill, in an essay published in 1920 in the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, wrote that Jews were behind a “worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization.” The role of Jews in the Bolshevik takeover of Russia, Churchill went on, “is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others.” [See “The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia’s Early Soviet Regime,” Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*.]

Those who develop and promote these movements claim to be motivated by lofty humanitarian concerns, and accordingly couch their arguments in terms of democratic ideals. In reality, MacDonald maintains, this “intellectual offensive” is part of a well-established and remarkably successful Jewish pattern that seeks to advance sectarian Jewish interests by attacking traditional cultural, racial and religious values. This is because Jews thrive best in “pluralistic” societies that lack strong cultural, racial or religious characters.

Precisely how Jewish scholars and activists have carried out this offensive will be, MacDonald pledges, a “major theme” of the forthcoming, third volume in his study, entitled *A Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements*.

Analysis or Justification?

As MacDonald convincingly shows, anti-Semitism is not, as we are constantly told, merely an expression of irrational hatred. Throughout the ages, gentiles have had valid reason to notice and dislike the behavior of Jews. A central theme of *Separation and its Discontents* is that gentiles have persecuted, expelled and killed Jews, not because Jews were “Christ-killers” or because they practiced a peculiar religion, but because they entered into persistently unacceptable relations with gentile society. While MacDonald does not excuse persecution, his analysis of Jewish behavior over the centuries does make it more understandable.

This book implicitly warns us to be highly skeptical of the most widely available accounts of Jewish history and of relations between Jews and non-Jews — whether in motion pictures, magazines or books. As MacDonald notes, virtually all popularly available accounts of Jewish history are written by Jews, many of whom make no secret of their passionate, partisan attachment to their subject. The reality of Jewish history, it is important to understand, is not at all the saga of virtue and inexplicable victimization that Jewish chroniclers are wont to tell. The causes of anti-Semitism, MacDonald shows, are easily discovered and understood. Jews rarely acknowl-

edge them because they do not want to understand their own history.

Invaluable Guide

MacDonald’s brilliant, well-referenced study, with its bounty of eye-opening facts and insights, is the most important work on the perpetually troubling “Jewish question” to appear in many years. But it is much more than that. Given the extraordinary reach of Jewish influence, *Separation and its Discontents* is also an invaluable guide to understanding ourselves and our world.

As MacDonald’s analysis implicitly makes clear, non-Jews, especially in the United States, have largely come to accept Jewish “deception and self-deception” as normal. So many of our most widely held beliefs and assumptions about the past and the present are based not on fact but rather on what Jewish scholar Namier aptly called “Jewish martyrology.” In short, we have become accustomed to looking at history through Jewish eyes.

Implicit in MacDonald’s book is a stern warning that the pattern of “deception and self-deception” he reveals has corrupted our culture, not least in grossly distorting how we look at the past, particularly 20th-century American and European history. Without an understanding of the real Jewish role in history, we remain dangerously ignorant of how the world actually works.

Uncertain Impact

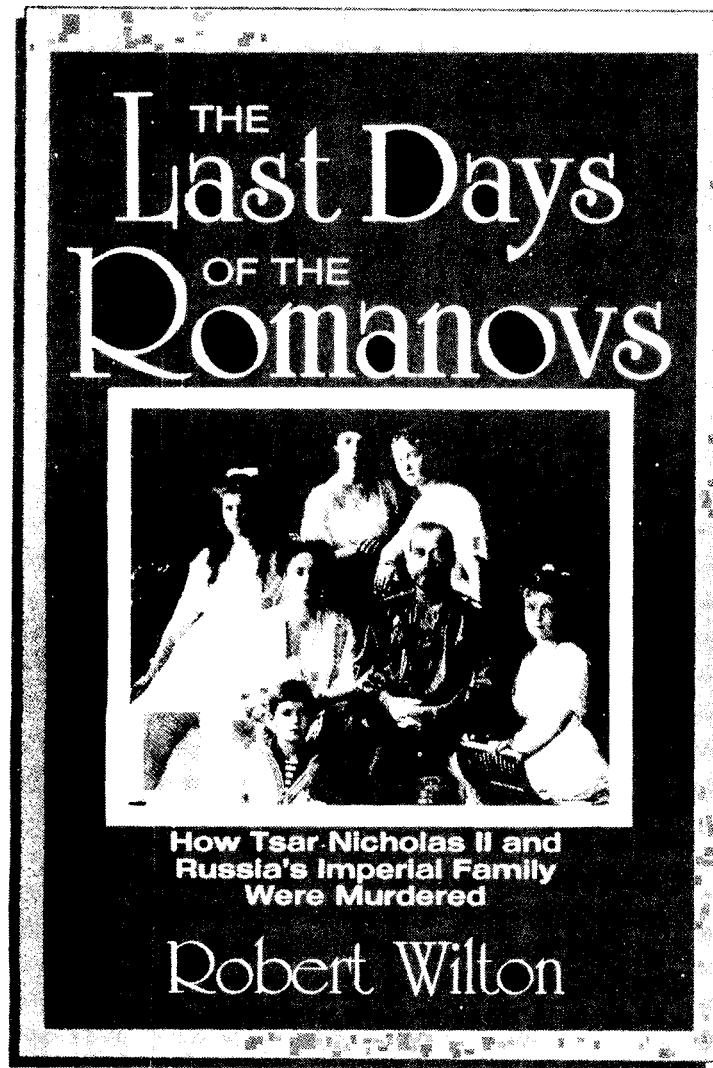
Several years ago a major New York publisher issued *The Bell Curve*, a scholarly book by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray that powerfully debunks the central assumptions on which America’s racial policies have been based. In spite of its rigorous scholarship, and even though it sold well and was widely reviewed, *The Bell Curve* has had no measurable impact on either popular attitudes or government policies.

Will *Separation and its Discontents* — another iconoclastic work of arguably comparable importance — suffer a similar fate? Or, perhaps, just perhaps, will it prove to be a seed falling on rocky but still fertile ground? If, even without fanfare, MacDonald’s book is read by enough thoughtful and concerned people, it can contribute to a significantly greater awareness of ourselves and our history. It might even portend a new era in America and the world.

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Letters

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J.H.M.
Dublin, Ireland

Good Work

Please find enclosed a bank draft for US \$100. This is for my subscription, with a small donation to help continue your good work. I would like to praise your research, intelligence and tenacity.

L.M.M.
Buddina, Qnsld.
Australia

Word of Caution

Congratulations on the most recent [March-April 1998] issue of the *Journal*, which was excellent. A word of caution, though. Please assiduously avoid advertisements, even paid advertisements, like the one headed "Favored Races." An undue stress on racial issues will hamper the cause of Holocaust revisionism, I think, and could alienate some people who are otherwise sympathetic.

B.E.C.
Dallas, Texas

Hiroshima and Pearl Harbor

Intrigues

I read with interest Richard Phillips' commentary [Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*], in which he strongly defended the American atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and disagreed with the articles by Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik on this subject in the May-June [1997] *Journal*. I was intrigued by Phillips' comment that he "was reading newspapers in 1945, and they were not"! Well,

so was I, but that does not determine my thinking now. One subscribes to the *Journal* to learn the truth.

To Mr. Phillips I would like to cite two points from Mr. Weber's article. Firstly, Japanese prime minister Konoye confirmed after the war that "Fundamentally, the thing that brought about the determination to make peace was the prolonged bombing by the B-29s," and, secondly, that "the American leaders decided anyway to retain the Emperor as a symbol of authority and continuity," a condition very important to the Japanese, "as a figurehead prop for their own occupation authority in postwar Japan."

I also suggest that Mr. Phillips carefully read "Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy," an analysis of various writings on the subject in the Winter 1991-92 *Journal* by a specialist of diplomatic and military history.

In the booklet, *War Lords of Washington* [available through the IHR], the late Curtis Dall, one time son-in-law of President Roosevelt, expresses the view that the atomic bomb was dropped "to panic the nations of the world into accepting a one world super-government" under the "One World" money powers, and to intimidate any nation that "didn't bow to their self-serving demands."

The sudden Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941, had the effect of suddenly shattering the widespread American opposition to involvement in World War Two. For some months prior to the attack, Churchill and Roosevelt had been maneuvering to bring the United States into the war against Germany, but were stymied by strong popular opposition to intervention.

It is well known that American

authorities had deciphered the Japanese diplomatic code, which gave Washington advance knowledge of a probable Japanese attack on the US Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. It is also known that Washington withheld vital information about a likely Japanese attack from Admiral Kimmel and General Short, the Navy and Army commanders at Pearl Harbor. [See John Weir's review of *Scapegoats* in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*.]

For more than 50 years, since the time after the war when I was living in Malaya, I have kept a copy of the *Malay Mail Supplement* of Friday, February 27, 1948, which contains an interesting item from the "Official Despatches of the Malayan Campaign." This report, which was published under the headline "RAF [British Royal Air Force] Were Ordered Not to Attack Japanese Convoys at Sea," tells us that on December 6, 1941, "Reconnaissance planes sighted three convoys heading for the Gulf of Siam." It further states, however, that "The [British] Far Eastern General Headquarters concluded that this force was directed against Siam [Thailand] and ordered that offensive action against the convoys was not to be taken without authorisation."

Why was the British air force ordered not to attack those Japanese naval convoys? Did the British authorities sacrifice their military advantage in Malaya to ensure that the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor would happen without mishap?

The Allied leaders, and the powers that were egging them on, had a strong interest, amounting virtually to obsession, in smashing of Hitler's Germany. For them was the war against Japan merely a sideshow? Anyway, I have met

Australians who volunteered for the Australian Air Force in 1941-42 with the intention of defending their own country against Japanese attack, but were then surprised to instead find themselves assigned to bomb cities in Germany.

S.A.
Caloundra, Qnsld.
Australia

Professional Work

Congratulations for your articles. Very good and professional work.

D.F.
St. Petersburg, Russia

Long Life

Here is my donation to support the excellent work of the Institute! It's not much, but I give this small donation with all my heart! Keep up the good work.

Long live the Institute.
V. de C.
Montreal, Quebec

Not a Dull Page

The March-April 98 *Journal* was the best in memory. The Spengler pieces were superb. The commentary on "Jewish power" was well-crafted and scholarly. Mark Weber and Robert Faurisson and several other authors wrote with crispness and precision. Even the letters were good. Not a dull page in the issue.

B.H.
Seattle, Wash.

Savior Historians

Weber's review of the book *Hitler as Philosophie* [Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*] was wonderful. Unquestionably the smear campaign against Third Reich Germany — of which the "Holocaust" is the centerpiece — is designed simply to demonize the ideology and legacy of Hitler's National Socialist regime. As the "New World Order" ever more clearly reveals itself for what it is, growing numbers of white Americans will doubtless embrace the idea of a state in

which the government and the economic system serve the people and their cultural and racial heritage.

I am giving a *Journal* gift subscription to my brother, and am chipping in a donation. Where would we all be if not for the work and guts of a few guys like you? Historians will save the world!

S.H.
Monroe, La.

Congratulations

Congratulations on your victories in your legal battles. You really produce a good publication, and I wish you success in the coming years. Keep up the good work.

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This stunning new biography made headlines around the world in April when one of America's most prominent publishers — succumbing to what the London *Times* called "prolonged protests from Jewish pressure groups" — broke its contract and halted publication. Before it gave in to a vicious campaign that included death threats, St. Martin's Press was praising *Goebbels* as "monumental in scope ... insightful ... draws on masses of previously unpublished materials ... Masterful ... masterpiece of research as well as a compelling story ..."

The *New York Times Book Review* calls this a "Rolls Royce" of a book, "filled with costly color photographs" and written in "lively and compelling" prose.

Now you can enjoy your own copy of Irving's brilliant product of seasoned scholarship and gifted writing. You'll treasure this sumptuous 740-page hardcover masterpiece, with more than a hundred photos, many in full color.

Typical of the grudging praise that *Goebbels* and Irving have been receiving in Britain is the commentary of George Stern in the *Literary Review*:

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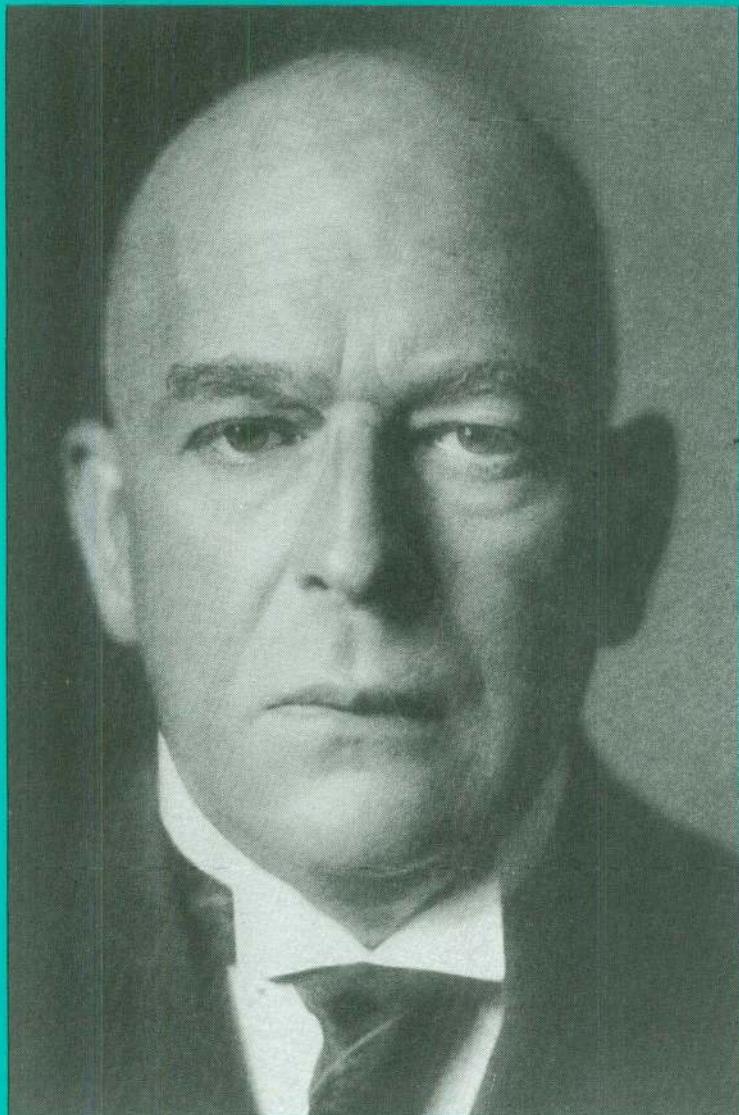
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March / April 1998



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Mark Weber

The Detail

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Arthur R. Butz

History's Little Known Naval Disasters

— Reviews —

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On the cover: Oswald Spengler in 1935.

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Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to his Life and Ideas

KEITH STIMELY

Oswald Spengler was born in Blankenburg (Harz) in central Germany in 1880, the eldest of four children, and the only boy. His mother's side of the family was quite artistically bent. His father, who had originally been a mining technician and came from a long line of mineworkers, was an official in the German postal bureaucracy, and he provided his family with a simple but comfortable middle class home.

The young Oswald never enjoyed the best of health, and suffered from migraine headaches that were to plague him all his life. He also had an anxiety complex, though he was not without grandiose thoughts — which because of his frail constitution had to be acted out in daydreams only.

When he was ten the family moved to the university city of Halle. Here Spengler received a classical *Gymnasium* education, studying Greek, Latin, mathematics and natural sciences. Here too he developed his strong affinity for the arts — especially poetry, drama, and music. He tried his hand at some youthful artistic creations of his own, a few of which have survived — they are indicative of a tremendous enthusiasm but not much else. At this time also he came under the influence of Goethe and Nietzsche, two figures whose importance to Spengler the youth and the man cannot be overestimated.

After his father's death in 1901, Spengler at 21 entered the University of Munich. In accordance

with German student-custom of the time, after a year he proceeded to other universities, first Berlin and then Halle. His main courses of study were in the classical cultures, mathematics, and the physical sciences. His university education was financed in large part by a legacy from a deceased aunt.

His doctoral dissertation at Halle was on Heraclitus, the "dark philosopher" of ancient Greece whose most memorable line was "War is the Father of all things." He failed to pass his first examination because of "insufficient references" — a characteristic of all his later writings that some critics took a great delight in pointing out. However, he passed a second examination in 1904, and then set to writing the secondary dissertation necessary to qualify as a high school teacher. This became *The Development of the Organ of Sight in the Higher Realms of the Animal Kingdom*. It was approved, and Spengler received his teaching certificate.

His first post was at a school in Saarbrücken. Then he moved to Düsseldorf and, finally, Hamburg. He taught mathematics, physical sciences, history, and German literature, and by all accounts was a good and conscientious instructor. But his heart was not really in it, and when in 1911 the opportunity presented itself for him to "go his own way" (his mother had died and left him an inheritance that guaranteed him a measure of financial independence), he took it, and left the teaching profession for good.

Historical Explanation of Current Trends

He settled in Munich, there to live the life of an independent scholar/philosopher. He began the writing of a book of observations on contemporary politics whose idea had preoccupied him for some time. Originally to be titled *Conservative and Liberal*, it was planned as an exposition and explanation of the current trends in Europe — an accelerating arms race, Entente "encirclement" of Germany, a succession of international crises, increasing polarity of the nations — and where they were leading. However in late 1911 he was suddenly struck by the notion that the events of the day could only be interpreted in "global" and "total-cultural"

Keith Stimely was born on April 9, 1957, in Connecticut, but grew up and was educated on the West coast. He studied at San Jose State University and the University of Oregon, from where he graduated in 1980 with a bachelor's degree in history. (This essay was written in December 1978 for a University of Oregon history class.) Stimely then joined the US Army, serving as a reserve officer. His interest in revisionist history began in high school, and in 1980 he spoke at the second IHR Conference (Pomona College). He joined this *Journal*'s editorial staff in June 1982, and served as its chief editor from February 1983 until February 1985. He compiled the *1981 Revisionist Bibliography* (no longer in print), and was a gifted artist and pianist. He died in Portland, Oregon, on December 19, 1992.

terms. He saw Europe as marching off to suicide, a first step toward the final demise of European culture in the world and in history.

The Great War of 1914-1918 only confirmed in his mind the validity of a thesis already developed. His planned work kept increasing in scope far, far beyond the original bounds.

Spengler had tied up most of his money in foreign investments, but the war had largely invalidated them, and he was forced to live out the war years in conditions of genuine poverty. Nevertheless he kept at his work, often writing by candle-light, and in 1917 was ready to publish. He encountered great difficulty in finding a publisher, partly because of the nature of the work, partly because of the chaotic conditions prevailing at the time. However in the summer of 1918, coincident with the German collapse, finally appeared the first volume of *The Decline of the West*, subtitled *Form and Actuality*.

Publishing Success

To no little surprise on the part of both Spengler and his publisher, the book was an immediate and unprecedented success. It offered a rational explanation for the great European disaster, explaining it as part of an inevitable world-historic process. German readers especially took it to heart, but the work soon proved popular throughout Europe and was quickly translated into other languages. Nineteen-nineteen was "Spengler's year," and his name was on many tongues.

Professional historians, however, took great umbrage at this pretentious work by an amateur (Spengler was not a trained historian), and their criticisms — particularly of numerous errors of fact and the unique and unapologetic "non-scientific" approach of the author — filled many pages. It is easier now than it was then to dispose of this line of rejection-criticism. Anyway, with regard to the validity of his postulate of rapid Western decline, the contemporary Spenglerian need only say to these critics: Look about you. What do you see?

In 1922 Spengler issued a revised edition of the first volume containing minor corrections and revisions, and the year after saw the appearance of the second volume, subtitled *Perspectives of World History*. He thereafter remained satisfied with the work, and all his later writings and pronouncements are only enlargements upon the theme he laid out *Decline*.

A Direct Approach

The basic idea and essential components of *The Decline of the West* are not difficult to understand or delineate. (In fact, it is the work's very simplicity that was too much for his professional critics.) First,



A handwritten signature of Oswald Spengler, written in a cursive script.

Oswald Spengler in 1935, a year before his death. His work was praised by American scholar Revilo Oliver as "the great intellectual achievement of our century."

though, a proper understanding requires a recognition of Spengler's special approach to history. He himself called it the "physiognomic" approach — looking things directly in the face or heart, intuitively, rather than strictly scientifically. Too often the real meaning of things is obscured by a mask of scientific-mechanistic "facts." Hence the blindness of the professional "scientist-type" historians, who in a grand lack of imagination see only the visible.

Utilizing his physiognomic approach, Spengler was confident of his ability to decipher the riddle of History — even, as he states in *Decline*'s very first sentence, to predetermine history.

The following are his basic postulates:

1. The "linear" view of history must be rejected,

in favor of the cyclical. Heretofore history, especially Western history, had been viewed as a "linear" progression from lower to higher, like rungs on a ladder — an unlimited evolution upward. Western history is thus viewed as developing progressively: Greek → Roman → Medieval → Renaissance → Modern, or, Ancient → Medieval → Modern. This concept, Spengler insisted, is only a product of Western man's ego — as if everything in the past pointed to him, existed so that he might exist as a yet-more perfected form.

This "incredibly jejune and *meaningless* scheme" can at last be replaced by one now discernible from the vantage-point of years and a greater and more fundamental knowledge of the past: the notion of History as moving in definite, observable, and — except in minor ways — unrelated cycles.

'High Cultures'

2. The cyclical movements of history are not those of mere nations, states, races, or events, but of High Cultures. Recorded history gives us eight such "high cultures": the Indian, the Babylonian, the

Egyptian, the Chinese, the Mexican (Mayan-Aztec), the Arabian (or "Magian"), the Classical (Greece and Rome), and the European-Western.

Each High Culture has as a distinguishing feature a "prime symbol." The Egyptian symbol, for example, was the "Way" or "Path," which can be seen in the ancient Egyptians' preoccupation

— in religion, art, and architecture (the pyramids) — with the sequential passages of the soul. The prime symbol of the Classical culture was the "point-present" concern, that is, the fascination with the nearby, the small, the "space" of immediate and logical visibility: note here Euclidean geometry, the two-dimensional style of Classical painting and relief-sculpture (you will never see a vanishing point in the background, that is, where there is a background at all), and especially: the lack of facial expression of Grecian busts and statues, signifying nothing behind or beyond the outward.

The prime symbol of Western culture is the "Faustian Soul" (from the tale of Doctor Faustus), symbolizing the upward reaching for nothing less than the "Infinite." This is basically a *tragic* symbol,



Spengler at about age 30

for it reaches for what even the reacher knows is unreachable. It is exemplified, for instance, by Gothic architecture (especially the interiors of Gothic cathedrals, with their vertical lines and seeming "ceilinglessness").

The "prime symbol" effects *everything* in the Culture, manifesting itself in art, science, technics and politics. Each Culture's symbol-soul expresses itself especially in its art, and each Culture has an art form that is most representative of its own symbol. In the Classical, they were sculpture and drama. In Western culture, after architecture in the Gothic era, the great representative form was music — actually the pluperfect expression of the Faustian soul, transcending as it does the limits of sight for the "limitless" world of sound.

'Organic' Development

3. High Cultures are "living" things — *organic* in nature — and must pass through the stages of birth-development-fulfillment-decay-death. Hence a "morphology" of history. All previous cultures have passed through these distinct stages, and Western culture can be no exception. In fact, its present stage in the organic development-process can be pinpointed.

The high-water mark of a High Culture is its phase of fulfillment — called the "culture" phase. The beginning of decline and decay in a Culture is the transition point between its "culture" phase and the "civilization" phase that inevitably follows.

The "civilization" phase witnesses drastic social upheavals, mass movements of peoples, continual wars and constant crises. All this takes place along with the growth of the great "megalopolis" — huge urban and suburban centers that sap the surrounding countrysides of their vitality, intellect, strength, and soul. The inhabitants of these urban conglomerations — now the bulk of the populace — are a rootless, soulless, godless, and materialistic mass, who love nothing more than their *panem et circenses*. From these come the subhuman "fellahs" — fitting participants in the dying-out of a culture.

With the civilization phase comes the rule of Money and its twin tools, Democracy and the Press. Money rules over the chaos, and only Money profits by it. But the true bearers of the culture — the men whose souls are still one with the culture-soul — are disgusted and repelled by the Money-power and its fellahs, and act to break it, as they are compelled to do so — and as the mass culture-soul compels finally the end of the dictatorship of money. Thus the civilization phase concludes with the Age of Caesarism, in which great power come into the hands of great men, helped in this by the chaos of late Money-rule. The advent of the Caesars marks the return of Authority and Duty, of Honor and "Blood,"

and the end of democracy.

With this arrives the "imperialistic" stage of civilization, in which the Caesars with their bands of followers battle each other for control of the earth. The great masses are uncomprehending and uncaring; the megalopoli slowly depopulate, and the masses gradually "return to the land," to busy themselves there with the same soil-tasks as their ancestors centuries before. The turmoil of events goes on above their heads. Now, amidst all the chaos of the times, there comes a "second religiosity"; a longing return to the old symbols of the faith of the culture. Fortified thus, the masses in a kind of resigned contentment bury their souls and their efforts into the soil from which they and their culture sprang, and against this background the dying of the Culture and the civilization it created is played out.

Predictable Life Cycles

Every Culture's life-span can be seen to last about a thousand years: The Classical existed from 900 BC to 100 AD; the Arabian (Hebraic-semitic Christian-Islamic) from 100 BC to 900 AD; the Western from 1000 AD to 2000 AD. However, this span is the ideal, in the sense that a man's ideal life-span is 70 years, though he may never reach that age, or may live well beyond it. The death of a Culture may in fact be played out over hundreds of years, or it may occur instantaneously because of outer forces — as in the sudden end of the Mexican Culture.

Also, though every culture has its unique Soul and is in essence a special and separate entity, the development of the life cycle is paralleled in all of them: For each phase of the cycle in a given Culture, and for all great events affecting its course, there is a counterpart in the history of every other culture. Thus, Napoleon, who ushered in the civilization phase of the Western, finds his counterpart in Alexander of Macedon, who did the same for the Classical. Hence the "contemporaneity" of all high cultures.

In barest outline these are the essential components of Spengler's theory of historical Culture-cycles. In a few sentences it might be summed up:

Human history is the cyclical record of the rise and fall of unrelated High Cultures. These Cultures are in reality super life-forms, that is, they are organic in nature, and like all organisms must pass through the phases of birth-life-death. Though separate entities in themselves, all High Cultures experience parallel development, and events and phases in any one find their corresponding events and phases in the others. It is possible from the vantage point of the twentieth century to glean from the

past the meaning of cyclic history, and thus to predict the decline and fall of the West.

Needless to say, such a theory — though somewhat heralded in the work of Giambattista Vico and the 19th-century Russian Nikolai Danilevsky, as well as in Nietzsche — was destined to shake the foundations of the intellectual and semi-intellectual world. It did so in short order, partly owing to its felicitous timing, and partly to the brilliance (though not unflawed) with which Spengler presented it.

Polemic Style

There are easier books to read than *Decline* — there are also harder — but a big reason for its unprecedented (for such a work) popular success was the same reason for its by-and-large dismissal by the learned critics: its style. Scorning the type of "learnedness" that demanded only cautionary and judicious statements — every one backed by a footnote — Spengler gave freewheeling vent to his opinions and judgments. Many passages are in the style of a polemic, from which no disagreement can be brooked.

To be sure, the two volumes of *Decline*, no matter the opinionated style and unconventional methodology, are essentially a comprehensive justification of the ideas presented, drawn from the histories of the different High Cultures. He used the comparative method which, of course, is appropriate if indeed all the phases of a High Culture are contemporaneous with those of any other. No one man could possibly have an equally comprehensive knowledge of all the Cultures surveyed, hence Spengler's treatment is uneven, and he spends relatively little time on the Mexican, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese — concentrating on the Arabian, Classical, and Western, especially these last two. The most valuable portion of the work, as even his critics acknowledge, is his comparative delineation of the parallel developments of the Classical and Western cultures.

Spengler's vast knowledge of the arts allowed him to place learned emphasis on their importance to the symbolism and inner meaning of a Culture, and the passages on art forms are generally regarded as being among the more thought-provoking. Also eyebrow-raising is a chapter (the very first, in fact, after the Introduction) on "The Meaning of Numbers," in which he asserted that even mathematics — supposedly the one certain "universal" field of knowledge — has a different meaning in different cultures: numbers are relative to the people who use them.

"Truth" is likewise relative, and Spengler conceded that what was true for him might not be true for another — even another wholly of the same cul-



Keith Stimely and Robert Faurisson at the Fifth IHR Conference (1983)

ture and era. Thus Spengler's greatest breakthrough may perhaps be his postulation of the non-universality of things, the "differentness" or distinctiveness of different people and cultures (despite their fated common end) — an idea that is beginning to take hold in the modern West, which started this century supremely confident of the wisdom and possibility of making the world over in its image.

Age of Caesars

But it was his placing of the current West into his historical scheme that aroused the most interest and the most controversy. Spengler, as the title of his work suggests, saw the West as doomed to the same eventual extinction that all the other High Cultures had faced. The West, he said, was now in the middle of its "civilization" phase, which had begun, roughly, with Napoleon. The coming of the Caesars (of which Napoleon was only a foreshadowing) was perhaps only decades away. Yet Spengler did not counsel any kind of sighing resignation to fate, or blithe acceptance of coming defeat and death. In a later essay, *Pessimism?* (1922), he wrote that the men of the West must still be men, and do all they could to realize the immense possibilities still open to them. Above all, they must embrace the one absolute imperative: The destruction of Money and democracy, especially in the field of politics, that grand and all-encompassing field of endeavor.

'Prussian' Socialism

After the publication of the first volume of *Decline*, Spengler's thoughts turned increasingly to

contemporary politics in Germany. After experiencing the Bavarian revolution and its short-lived Soviet republic, he wrote a slender volume titled *Prussianism and Socialism*. Its theme was that a tragic misunderstanding of the concepts was at work: Conservatives and socialists, instead of being at loggerheads, should united under the banner of a true socialism. This was not the Marxist-materialist abomination, he said, but essentially the same thing as Prussianism: a socialism of the German community, based on its unique work ethic, discipline, and organic rank instead of "money." This "Prussian" socialism he sharply contrasted both to the capitalistic ethic of England and the "socialism" of Marx (!), whose theories amounted to "capitalism for the proletariat."

In his corporate state proposals Spengler anticipated the Fascists, although he never was one, and his "socialism" was essentially that of the National-Socialists (but without the folkish racialism). His early appraisal of a corporation for which the State would have directional control but not ownership of or direct responsibility for the various private segments of the economy sounded much like Werner Sombart's later favorable review of National Socialist economics in his *A New Social Philosophy* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1937; translation of *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934)).

Prussianism and Socialism did not meet with a favorable reaction from the critics or the public — eager though the public had been, at first, to learn his views. The book's message was considered to "visionary" and eccentric — it cut across too many party lines. The years 1920-23 saw Spengler retreat into a preoccupation with the revision of the first volume of *Decline*, and the completion of the second. He did occasionally give lectures, and wrote some essays, only a few of which have survived.

Political Involvement

In 1924, following the social-economic upheaval of the terrible inflation, Spengler entered the political fray in an effort to bring Reichswehr general Hans von Seeckt to power as the country's leader. But the effort came to naught. Spengler proved totally ineffective in practical politics. It was the old story of the would-be "philosopher-king," who was more philosopher than king (or king-maker).

After 1925, at the start of Weimar Germany's all-too-brief period of relative stability, Spengler devoted most of his time to his research and writing. He was particularly concerned that he had left an important gap in his great work — that of the pre-history of man. In *Decline* he had written that prehistoric man was basically without a history, but he revised that opinion. His work on the subject was only fragmentary, but 30 years after his death a

compilation was published under the title *Early Period of World History*.

His main task as he saw it, however, was a grand and all-encompassing work on his metaphysics — of which *Decline* had only given hints. He never did finish this, though *Fundamental Questions*, in the main a collection of aphorisms on the subject, was published in 1965.

In 1931 he published *Man and Technics*, a book that reflected his fascination with the development and usage, past and future, of the technical. The development of advanced technology is unique to the West, and he predicted where it would lead. *Man and Technics* is a racialist book, though not in a narrow "Germanic" sense. Rather it warns the European or white races of the pressing danger from the outer Colored races. It predicts a time when the Colored peoples of the earth will use the very technology of the West to destroy the West.

Reservations About Hitler

There is much in Spengler's thinking that permits one to characterize him as a kind of "proto-Nazi": his call for a return to Authority, his hatred of "decadent" democracy, his exaltation of the spirit of "Prussianism," his idea of war as essential to life. However, he never joined the National Socialist party, despite the repeated entreaties of such NS luminaries as Gregor Strasser and Ernst Hanfstaengl. He regarded the National Socialists as immature, fascinated with marching bands and patriotic slogans, playing with the bauble of power but not realizing the philosophical significance and new imperatives of the age. Of Hitler he supposed to have said that what Germany needed was a hero, not a heroic tenor. Still, he did vote for Hitler against Hindenburg in the 1932 election. He met Hitler in person only once, in July 1933, but Spengler came away unimpressed from their lengthy discussion.

His views about the National Socialists and the direction Germany should properly be taking surfaced in late 1933, in his book *The Hour of Decision* [translation of *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*]. He began it by stating that no one could have looked forward to the National Socialist revolution with greater longing than he. In the course of the work, though, he expressed (sometimes in veiled form) his reservations about the new regime. Germanophile though he certainly was, nevertheless he viewed the National Socialists as too narrowly German in character, and not sufficiently European.

Although he continued the racialist tone of *Man and Technics*, Spengler belittled what he regarded as the exclusiveness of the National Socialist concept of race. In the face of the outer danger, what should be emphasized is the unity of the various

European races, not their fragmentation. Beyond a matter-of-fact recognition of the "colored peril" and the superiority of white civilization, Spengler repeated his own "non-materialist" concept of race (which he had already expressed in *Decline*): Certain men — of whatever ancestry — have "race" (a kind of will-to-power), and these are the makers of history.

Predicting a second world war, Spengler warned in *Hour of Decision* that the National Socialists were not sufficiently watchful of the powerful hostile forces outside the country that would mobilize to destroy them, and Germany. His most direct criticism was phrased in this way: "And the National Socialists believe that they can afford to ignore the world or oppose it, and build their castles-in-the-air without creating a possibly silent, but very palpable reaction from abroad." Finally, but after it had already achieved a wide circulation, the authorities prohibited the book's further distribution.

Oswald Spengler, shortly after predicting that in a decade there would no longer be a German Reich, died of a heart attack on May 8, 1936, in his Munich apartment. He went to his death convinced that he had been right, and that events were unfolding in fulfillment of what he had written in *The Decline of the West*. He was certain that he lived in the twilight period of his Culture — which, despite his foreboding and gloomy pronouncements, he loved and cared for deeply to the very end.

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Aphorisms: From the Writings of Oswald Spengler

Even a good idea is worth little when it is expressed by a blockhead.

Man makes history; woman is history. The reproduction of the species is feminine: it runs steadily and quietly through all species, animal or human, through all short-lived cultures. It is primary, unchanging, everlasting, maternal, plantlike, and cultureless. If we look back we find that it is synonymous with life itself.

It doesn't really matter what one writes into a constitution. The important thing is what the collective instinct eventually makes of it.

Little as we know about the events of the future, one thing is certain: the moving forces of the future will be none other than those of the past — the will of the stronger, healthy instincts, race, will to property, and power.

The question of whether world peace will ever be possible can only be answered by someone familiar with world history. To be familiar with world history means, however, to know human beings as they have been and always will be. There is a vast difference, which most people will never comprehend, between viewing future history as it will be and viewing it as one might like it to be. Peace is a desire, war is a fact; and history has never paid heed to human desires and ideals ...

Talk of world peace is heard today only among the white peoples, and not among the much more numerous colored races. This is a perilous state of affairs. When individual thinkers and idealists talk of peace, as they have done since time immemorial, the effect is negligible. But when whole peoples become pacifistic it is a symptom of senility. Strong and unspent races are not pacifistic. To adopt such a position is to abandon the future, for the pacifist ideal is a terminal condition that is contrary to the basic facts of existence. As long as man continues to evolve, there will be wars ...

Pacifism means letting the non-pacifists have control ... Pacifism will remain an ideal, war a fact. If the white races are resolved never to wage war again, the colored will act differently and become rulers of the world.

Society is based on the inequality of men. This is a fact of nature.

Men are tired of money-economy. They hope for salvation from somewhere or other, for some real thing

of honor and chivalry, of inward nobility, of unselfishness and duty.

The life of the individual is important to no one but himself; the point is whether he attempts to escape from history or give his life to it. History takes no heed of human logic.

The wealth of birth in primitive populations is a natural phenomenon, the very existence of which no one thinks about, let alone its advantages or disadvantages. Where reasons for questioning the existence of life enter the human consciousness, life itself has already become questionable.

Who would have thought that history lessons and the political education of the people are one and the same?

When a nation rises up to fight for its freedom and honor, it is always a minority that inspires the masses.

Suddenly all those individuals who yesterday felt that "we" meant only their families, their professions, or perhaps their communities, become men of the nation. Their emotions and thoughts, their egos, that "something" within them, all are transformed: they have become historical.

There has never been a healthy economy without a strong political base, although the theory of materialism teaches the opposite.

Enthusiasm is a virtue for followers, a vice for leaders. Intelligence is more important than inspiration.

The great man lives in such a way that his existence is a sacrifice to his idea.

This is our task: to make as meaningful as possible this life that has been bestowed upon us, this reality with which fate has surrounded us; to live in such a way that we may be proud of ourselves; to act in such a way that some part of us lives on.

The essence of religion is perhaps most clearly recognized in what it does not tolerate.

The highest virtues attainable are heroism and saintliness: great affirmation or great renunciation.

The hero is indifferent to death and the saint indifferent to life.

The Last Judgment is a beautiful idea. And if we do not believe in it, we should still live in such a way that we could pass the test.

Happiness is unexpected, rare, unlikely, brief and blindly appreciated. The less men have brooded about the nature of happiness, or their right to it, the happier they have been.

Animals and primitive men are neither perverse nor licentious. Their Eros is in rhythmic harmony with the universe... Only civilization has made a problem of eroticism, converted it into unrestrained greed.

Life is wealthy enough to waste individuals. Countless seeds, embryos, and children perish, often the best ones. All that matters is that enough remain to keep the species from dying out.

The common man wants nothing of life but health, longevity, amusement, comfort — "happiness." He who does not despise this should turn his eyes from world history, for it contains nothing of the sort. The best that history has created is great suffering.

In history it is not idealism, goodness or morality that reign — their kingdom is not of this world — but rather resolve, energy, presence of mind, and practical ability. One cannot erase this fact with laments and moral judgments. That is the way man is; that is the way life is; that is way history is.



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Oswald Spengler: Criticism and Tribute

REVILO P. OLIVER

Conceived before the First World War is Oswald Spengler's magisterial work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Munich, 1918). Read in this country chiefly in the brilliantly faithful translation by Charles Francis Atkinson, *The Decline of the West* (New York, two volumes, 1926-28), Spengler's morphology of history was the great intellectual achievement of our century. Whatever our opinion of his methods or conclusions, we cannot deny that he was the Copernicus of historiometry. All subsequent writings on the philosophy of history may fairly be described as criticism of the *Decline of the West*.

Spengler, having formulated a universal history, undertook an analysis of the forces operating in the immediately contemporary world. This he set forth in a masterly work, *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*, of which only the first volume could be published in Germany (Munich, 1933) and translated into English (*The Hour of Decision*, New York, 1934). One had only to read this brilliant work, with its lucid analysis of forces that even acute observers did not perceive until 25 or 30 years later, and with its prevision that subsequent events have now shown to have been absolutely correct, to recognize that its author was one of the great political and philosophical minds of the West. One should remember, however, that the amazing accuracy of his analysis of the contemporary situation does not necessarily prove the validity of his historical morphology.

The publication of Spengler's first volume in 1918 released a spate of controversy that continues to the present day. Manfred Schroeter in *Der Streit um Spengler* (Munich, 1922) was able to give a précis of the critiques that had appeared in a little more than three years; today, a mere bibliography, if reasonably complete, would take years to compile and would probably run to eight hundred or a thousand

Reviло P. Oliver, a scholar of international stature, taught Classics at the University of Illinois for 32 years. From 1980 until his death in August 1994, he was a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. For more about Dr. Oliver, see the memorial tribute to him in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20. This essay, originally written in 1963, is reprinted from the anthology *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* (1982), pp. 193-200.

printed pages.

Spengler naturally stirred up swarms of nitwits, who were particularly incensed by his immoral and preposterous suggestion that there could be another war in Europe, when everybody knew that there just couldn't be anything but World Peace after 1918, 'cause Santa had just brought a nice, new, shiny "League of Nations." Such "liberal" chatterboxes are always making a noise, but no one with the slightest knowledge of human history pays any attention to them, except as symptoms.

Unfortunately, much more intelligent criticism of Spengler was motivated by emotional dissatisfaction with his conclusions. In an article in *Antiquity* for 1927, the learned R.S. Collingwood of Oxford went so far as to claim that Spengler's two volumes had not given him "a single genuinely new idea," and that he had "long ago carried out for himself" — and, of course, rejected — even Spengler's detailed analyses of individual cultures. As a cursory glance at Spengler's work will suffice to show, that assertion is less plausible than a claim to know *everything* contained in the Twelfth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Collingwood, the author of the *Speculum Mantis* and other philosophical works, must have been bedeviled with emotional resentments so strong that he could not see how conceited, arrogant and improbable his vaunt would seem to most readers.

It is now a truism that Spengler's "pessimism" and "fatalism" was an unbearable shock to minds nurtured in the Nineteenth-century illusion that everything would get better and better forever and ever. Spengler's cyclic interpretation of history stated that a civilization was an organism having a definite and fixed life-span and moving from infancy to senescence and death by an internal necessity comparable to the biological necessity that decrees the development of the human organism from infantile imbecility to senile decrepitude. Napoleon, for example, was the counterpart of Alexander in the ancient world.

We were now, therefore, in a phase of civilizational life in which constitutional forms are supplanted by the prestige of individuals. By 2000, we shall be "contemporary" with the Rome of Sulla, the Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and China at the time when the "Contending States" were welded

into an empire. That means that we face an age of world wars and what is worse, civil wars and proscriptions, and that around 2060 the West (if not destroyed by its alien enemies) will be united under the personal rule of a Caesar or Augustus. That is not a pleasant prospect.

Greatness or Optimism

The *only* question before us, however, is whether Spengler is correct in his analysis. Rational men will regard as irrelevant the fact that his conclusions are not charming. If a physician informs you that you have symptoms of arteriosclerosis, he may or may not be right in his diagnosis, but it is absolutely certain that you cannot rejuvenate yourself by slapping his face.

Every detached observer of our times, I think, will agree that Spengler's "pessimism" aroused emotions that precluded rational consideration. I am inclined to believe that the *moral* level of his thinking was a greater obstacle. His "fatalism" was not the comforting kind that permits men to throw up their hands and eschew responsibilities. Consider, for example, the concluding lines of his *Men and Technics* (New York, 1932):

Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every people, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. Time does not suffer itself to be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or wise renunciation. Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one thing that can *not* be taken from a man.

Now, whether or not the stern prognostication that lies back of that conclusion is correct, no man fit to live in the present can read those lines without feeling his heart lifted by the great ethos of a noble culture — the spiritual strength of the West that can know tragedy and be unafraid. And simultaneously, that pronouncement will affright to hysteria the epicene homunculi among us, the puling cowards who hope only to scuttle about safely in the darkness and to batten on the decay of a culture infinitely beyond their comprehension.

That contrast is in itself a very significant datum



Revilo P. Oliver

for an estimate of the present condition of our civilization...

Three Points of Criticism

Criticism of Spengler, therefore, if it is not to seem mere quibbling about details, must deal with major premises. Now, so far as I can see, Spengler's thesis can be challenged at three really fundamental points, namely:

(1) Spengler regards each civilization as a closed and isolated entity animated by a dominant idea, or *Weltanschauung*, that is its "soul." Why should ideas, or concepts, the impalpable creations of the human mind, undergo an organic evolution as though they were living protoplasm, which, as a material substance, is understandably subject to chemical change and hence biological laws? This logical objection is not conclusive: Men may observe the tides, for example, and even predict them, without being able to explain what causes them. But when we must deduce historical laws from the four of five civilizations of which we have some fairly accurate knowledge, we do not have enough repetitions of a phenomenon to calculate its periodicity with assurance, if we do not know why it happens.

(2) A far graver difficulty arises from the historical fact that we have already mentioned. For five centuries, at least, the men of the West regarded modern civilization as a revival or prolongation of Graeco-Roman antiquity. Spengler, as the very basis of his hypothesis, regards the Classical world as a civilization distinct from, and alien to, our own — a civilization that, like the Egyptian, lived, died, and is now gone. It was dominated by an entirely different *Weltanschauung*, and consequently the educated men of Europe and America, who for five centuries believed in continuity, were merely suffering from an illusion or hallucination.

Even if we grant that, however, we are still con-

fronted by a *unique* historical phenomenon. The Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Hindu, and Arabian ("Magian"), civilizations are all regarded by Spengler (and other proponents of an organic structure of culture) as single and unrelated organisms: Each came into being without deriving its concepts from another civilization (or, alternatively, seeing its own concepts in the records of an earlier civilization), and each died leaving no offspring (or, alternatively, no subsequent civilization thought to see in them its own concepts). There is simply no parallel or precedent for the relationship (real or imaginary) which links Graeco-Roman culture to our own.

Since Spengler wrote, a great historical discovery has further complicated the question. We now know that the Mycenaean peoples were Greeks, and it is virtually certain that the essentials of their culture survived the disintegration caused by the Dorian invasion, and were the basis of later Greek culture. (For a good summary, see Leonard R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, London, 1961). We therefore have a sequence that is, so far as we know, unique:

Mycenaean → Dark Ages → Graeco-Roman → Dark Ages → Modern. If this is one civilization, it has had a creative life-span far longer than that of any other that has thus far appeared in the world. If it is more than one, the interrelations form an exception to Spengler's general law, and suggest the possibility that a civilization, if it dies by some kind of quasi-biological process, may in some cases have a quasi-biological power of reproduction.

The exception becomes even more remarkable if we, unlike Spengler, regard as fundamentally important the concept of self-government, which may have been present even in Mycenaean times (see L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, cited above, p. 97). Democracies and constitutional republics are found only in the Graeco-Roman world and our own; such institutions seem to have been incomprehensible to other cultures.

(3) For all practical purposes, Spengler ignores hereditary and racial differences. He even uses the word "race" to represent a qualitative difference between members of what we should call the same race, and he denies that that difference is to any significant extent caused by heredity. He regards biological races as plastic and mutable, even in their physical characteristics, under the influence of geographical factors (including the soil, which is said to affect the physical organism through food) and of what Spengler terms "a mysterious cosmic force" that has nothing to do with biology. The only real unity is cultural, that is, the fundamental ideas and beliefs shared by the peoples who form a civilization. Thus Spengler, who makes those ideas subject to quasi-biological growth and decay, oddly rejects

as insignificant the findings of biological science concerning living organisms.

It is true, of course, that man is in part a spiritual being. Of that, persons who have a religious faith need no assurance. Others, unless they are determined blindly to deny the evidence before us, must admit the existence of phenomena of the kind described by Franz E. Winkler, M.D., in *Man the Bridge Between Two Worlds* (New York, Harper, 1960), and, of course, by many other writers. And every historian knows that no one of the higher cultures could conceivably have come into being, if human beings are merely animals.

But it is also true that the science of genetics, founded by Father Mendel only a century ago and almost totally neglected down to the early years of the Twentieth Century, has ascertained biological laws that can be denied only by denying the reality of the physical world. Every educated person knows that the color of a man's eyes, the shape of the lobes of his ears, and every one of his other physiological characteristics is determined by hereditary factors. It is virtually certain that intellectual capacity is likewise produced by inheritance, and there is a fair amount of evidence that indicated that even moral capacities are likewise innate.

Man's power of intervention in the development of inherited qualities appears to be entirely negative, thus affording another melancholy proof that human ingenuity can easily destroy what it can never create. Any fool with a knife can in three minutes make the most beautiful woman forever hideous, and one of our "mental health experts," even without using a knife, can as quickly and permanently destroy the finest intellect. And it appears that less drastic interventions, through education and other control of environment, may temporarily or even permanently pervert and deform, but are powerless to create capacities that an individual did not inherit from near or more remote ancestors.

The facts are beyond question, although the Secret Police in Soviet Russia and "liberal" spitting squads in the United States have largely succeeded in keeping these facts from the general public in the areas they control. But no amount of terrorism can alter the laws of nature. For a readable exposition of genetics, see Garrett Hardin's *Nature and Man's Fate* (New York, Rinehart, 1959), which is subject only to the reservation that the laws of genetics, like the laws of chemistry, are verified by observation every day, whereas the doctrine of biological evolution is necessarily an hypothesis that cannot be verified by experiment.

The Race Factor

It is also beyond question that the races of mankind differ greatly in physical appearance, in sus-

ceptibility to specific diseases, and in average intellectual capacity. There are indications that they differ also in nervous organization, and possibly, in moral instincts. It would be a miracle if that were not so, for, as is well known, the three primary races were distinct and separate at the time that intelligent men first appeared on this planet, and have so remained ever since. The differences are so pronounced and stable that the proponents of biological evolution are finding it more and more necessary to postulate that the differences go back to species that preceded the appearance of the *homo sapiens*. (See the new and revised edition of Dr. Carleton S. Coon's *The Story of Man*, New York, Knopf, 1962).

That such differences exist is doubtless deplorable. It is certainly deplorable that all men must die, and there are persons who think it deplorable that there are differences, both anatomical and spiritual between men and women. However, no amount of concerted lying by "liberals," and no amount of decreeing by the Warren [Supreme Court] Gang, will in the least change the laws of nature.

Now there is a great deal that we do *not* know about genetics, both individual and racial, and these uncertainties permit widely differing estimates of the relative importance of biologically determined factors and cultural concepts in the development of a civilization. Our only point here is that it is highly improbable that biological factors have *no* influence at all on the origin and course of civilizations. And to the extent that they do have an influence, Spengler's theory is defective and probably misleading.

Profound Insights

One could add a few minor points to the three objections stated above, but these will suffice to show that the Spenglerian historionomy cannot be accepted as a certainty. It is, however, a great philosophical formulation that poses questions of the utmost importance and deepens our perception of historical causality. No student of history needed Spengler to tell him that a decline of religious faith necessarily weakens the moral bonds that make civilized society possible. But Spengler's showing that such a decline seems to have occurred at a definite point in the development of a number of fundamentally different civilizations with, of course, radically different religions provides us with data that we must take into account when we try to ascertain the true causes of the decline. And his further observation that the decline was eventually followed by a sweeping revival of religious belief is equally significant.

However wrong he may have been about some

things, Spengler has given us profound insights into the nature of our own culture. But for him, we might have gone on believing that our great technology was merely a matter of economics — of trying to make more things more cheaply. But he has shown us, I think, that our technology has a deeper significance — that for us, the men of Western civilization, it answers a certain spiritual need inherent in us, and that we derive from its triumphs as satisfaction analogous to that which is derived from great music or great art.

And Spengler, above all, has forced us to inquire into the nature of civilization and to ask ourselves by what means — if any — we can repair and preserve the long and narrow dikes that alone protect us from the vast and turbulent ocean of eternal barbarism. For that, we must always honor him.

Revilo Oliver on History

... The development of a working philosophy of history is the most urgent, as well as the most difficult, task of Twentieth Century thought.

The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change.

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

"Some believe all manner of hearsay evidence; others twist truth into fiction; and both sorts of errors are magnified by time."

— Tacitus, Roman historian.

French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy

Le Pen, Faurisson, Garaudy Fined for 'Holocaust Denial'

MARK WEBER

In 1789 the French National Assembly enacted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen," a guiding document of the French Revolution that solemnly proclaims as "inalienable" the rights of free speech and of the press.

Today French citizens are, by and large, able to express their views freely on nearly any topic. But there is one important exception. Those who challenge the Western world's most important social-political taboo — on the Second World War treatment of the Jews — are routinely punished for their apostasy.

France's Fabius-Gayssot law of July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46. This one-sided law — which was introduced to the French parliament by Socialist Party deputy Laurent Fabius (a prominent Jewish political figure) and by Communist Party deputy Jean-Claude Gayssot — is applied selectively only to expressions of skepticism about real or alleged atrocities committed by the losers of the Second World War — that is, by Germans and their allies — and only about the wartime treatment of Jews.

Newspapers, government officials and human rights organizations in Europe and the United States that normally are quick to condemn restrictions on civil liberties have been silent about France's Fabius-Gayssot law and similar "Holocaust denial" laws in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain.

Jean-Marie Le Pen

In 1987 Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France's National Front political party, was found guilty of violating the Fabius-Gayssot law by referring to German execution gas chambers as a "detail" or a "minor point" in Second World War history. During a September 1987 interview, he said:

Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I couldn't see them myself. I haven't studied the questions

specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de détail*] in the history of the Second World War.

After a drawn-out court battle, Le Pen was convicted by a French court and fined 1.2 million francs (\$200,000).

Ten years later, on December 5, 1997, while in Munich to promote a book about himself written by German author and political figure Franz Schönhuber, Le Pen was asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying "There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement," and then added: "If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that's what's called a detail." (See the accompanying essay, "The Detail," by Robert Faurisson.)

Seventeen organizations responded by promptly filing a formal legal complaint. Among the groups demanding punishment were the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which is headquartered in Los Angeles and has an office in Europe, and the Paris-based "Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples."

On December 26, 1997, a Paris Court sentenced Le Pen for his second "detail" remark, ordering him to pay 300,000 francs (\$50,000) to publish the text of the court's decision in a dozen French newspapers. In addition, he was ordered to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the 17 organizations that had brought a suit against him. Because all this is an interim punishment, an even more severe punishment may be forthcoming.

Le Pen was born in 1928 in a Breton fishing village in western France. He served in the armed forces as a paratrooper, and worked as a fisherman and miner to pay for his studies. As a law student in Paris, he was known as an ardent anti-Communist and political activist who was not afraid of physical confrontations. Even his enemies acknowledge his courage and his skill as a public speaker and organizer.

In 1972 he founded the National Front. After several years of obscurity, the nationalist political party has achieved a significant level of popular

support with its call, "France for the French." In last year's parliamentary elections the party won 15 percent of the vote. Le Pen, who is an elected member of the European Parliament, personally captured this same percentage of votes in the first round of the presidential election of 1995.

Le Pen has recently said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. During an interview on December 12, 1997, he explained: "I won't respond any more. It's a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by the media."

Robert Faurisson

For nearly 20 years, Robert Faurisson has been reviled and acclaimed as Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. And no one has been targeted more frequently for violating France's anti-revisionist than this former professor at the University of Lyon and specialist of text and document analysis. He first publicly explained his skeptical views of the Holocaust gas chamber story in articles published in late 1978 and early 1979 in France's most respected daily paper, *Le Monde*.

A coalition of nine organizations, led by the Paris-based "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA), brought a civil lawsuit alleging "personal damages" for Faurisson's "falsification of history." Found guilty of "personal damages" but not "falsification of history," he was convicted on July 8, 1981.

Faurisson appealed the decision, which was upheld by the Paris Court of Appeals on April 26, 1983. It ordered him to pay "damages" to the various Jewish and leftist organizations that had brought the complaint, as well as pay court costs and the cost of publishing the verdict in three French periodicals.

During an interview in December 1980 with the French radio network "Europe 1," Faurisson stated:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial fraud, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people — but not their rulers — and the entire Palestinian people.

For these provocative words, Faurisson was brought to trial on criminal charges of racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred. In July 1981 he was found guilty and given a suspended



Jean-Marie Le Pen

three month prison sentence, fined several thousand francs, and ordered to pay 3.6 million francs for the cost of making public the verdict on television and in periodicals. However, in June 1982 an appeals court threw out the charge of incitement to racial hatred and eliminated the 3.6 million franc payment.

Among his other legal travails, in June 1995 a Paris court ordered Faurisson to pay a fine of \$3,000 for writing *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"), a book that disputes claims of Second World War mass killings in German gas chambers. Henri Roques, another French revisionist, was likewise fined \$3,000 by the court for distributing the work. Roques is also author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR. (See "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.)

Faurisson has had to contend with many other trials and court convictions over the years, as well as the freezing of his bank account. Court officials have visited his house a number of times, threatening him and his wife with seizure of their furniture to pay for the considerable financial "damages" imposed for a simple interview in *Le Choc du mois*.

On September 25, 1997, Faurisson came to trial for a statement made in April 1996 on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair in which he mentioned "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers." During the trial he told the court: "We are only three years away from the year 2000, and there are billions of



Roger Garaudy

people who are asked to believe in something they have never seen and don't even know how it worked!"

Judge Jean-Yves Monfort showed considerable respect for the defendant during the trial. He was surprised to learn that there are revisionist web sites around the world, and on several occasions showed that he felt uncomfortable applying the Fabius-Gayssot law. It is true, said Monfort, that the court is asked to participate in a debate that ought to take place among historians.

The prosecutor asked for a new kind of sentence: either imprisonment or a fine, to which Faurisson responded by declaring: "I hereby make a commitment that I shall not buy and shall not pay for my freedom. No one has ever bought me and no one will ever buy me."

As expected, the Paris court handed down a guilty verdict. On October 23 it ordered Faurisson to pay 120,600 francs (\$20,000), divided into three parts: 50,000 francs as a fine, 20,600 francs for a Jewish attorney, and 50,000 to pay for the publication of the summary of the court's judgment in the daily newspapers *Le Monde* and *Libération*, as well as (unprecedentedly) in the *Journal officiel de la République française*.

Faurisson has paid the Jewish lawyer and is paying the fine in installments. However, he will not have to pay to promulgate the court judgment

because, he has learned, the anti-revisionist organizations decided that they did not wish to see the publication of the words "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers."

There seems to be no end in sight for Faurisson's legal travails. He had to appear before a Paris court on March 16, 1998, to stand trial for a short definition of "revisionism," as inaccurately reported in *Rivarol*. The court's verdict is expected on April 27. On that day Faurisson is due to testify in London on behalf of Nick Griffin, who is being tried for having taken expressed revisionist skepticism about Nazi gas chambers in an issue of his magazine, *The Rune*.

On April 8 Faurisson is set to stand trial in Amsterdam for the publication in 1991 in Dutch of his detailed critical analysis of the Anne Frank *Diary*. Originally written for Ernst Römer, a German who had been put on trial in 1978 in Hamburg, it has been published in various editions (including in the Summer 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?").

The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, jointly brought the legal action. The Museum complained that it has been obliged to provide special training for its guides to respond to Faurisson's arguments, and that his critique might reduce the number of its visitors.

In December 1997 he received a summons from a Paris court official for an essay, "The Horned Visions of the Holocaust," that had been posted without his prior knowledge or approval on an Internet web site. In this piece Faurisson wrote that "The Holocaust of the Jews is a fiction." He responded to the summons with a stern letter in which he defiantly declared his refusal to "collaborate" with French justice authorities and police in the repression of revisionism. This case is likely to come to trial in October.

Faurisson has also been the victim of numerous physical attacks for his views. Between November 1978 and May 1993 he was assaulted on ten occasions, with at least nine of the attacks carried out by Jewish organizations or militants. Probably the worst was a savage and nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989, for which a group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility. No one was ever arrested for these crimes. (For more, see "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 6-7, and *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR: 1993], pp. 15-16.)

Reynouard, Garaudy and Others

Faurisson and Le Pen are hardly the only ones whom Jewish groups and French officials have targeted for expressing skepticism of the officially sanctioned version of 20th century history. Other



On February 27, 1998, thugs of the militant Jewish group "Betar" brazenly attacked visitors in the Paris court house who were sympathetic with Roger Garaudy, a French scholar who was sentenced on that day to pay \$20,000 for revisionist remarks made in a 1996 book. At least eight persons were injured in the assaults.

victims include Philippe Costa, Alain Guionnet and Fabrice Robert. Between July 1990 and January 1993 alone, the Fabius-Gayssot law had already been applied 27 times.

In 1997 and early 1998, the principal victim of anti-revisionism in France has been Vincent Reynouard, who was abruptly dismissed without notice from his position as a teacher at a college in Normandy for an expression of unorthodox historical views. Reynouard, 28, is married and has three young children. Michel Adam, a teacher in Brittany in his mid-50s, has similarly been suspended from his post for expressing revisionist views, and will probably be permanently laid off.

Eric Delcroix, Faurisson's attorney, has been sentenced for his book, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme* ("The Thought Police Against Revisionism"). A bookseller in Bordeaux, Jean-Luc Lundi, has received a stiff sentence because he offered revisionist books for sale. In Paris, thugs have repeatedly assaulted bookseller Georges Piscoci-Danesco and attacked his book shop, which stocked some revisionist titles, while the police have refused protection.

Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, a Jewish sociologist, was dismissed in February from his position as a visiting scholar in Berlin with "Marc Bloch" German-French research center when it was discovered that during the early 1980s he had defended Faurisson, and had expressed skepticism about the existence of Nazi gas chambers while he was associated with the revisionist publishing enterprise *Le Vieille Taupe* ("The Old Mole") of Pierre Guillaume. As soon as the affair began, Rittersporn recanted, saying that he had been wrong to embrace revisionist



"Never mind! We'll take care of order in the court building," says a "Betar" militant to a French policeman in the Paris *Palais du Justice*. In this drawing, published in the French weekly *Rivarol* (March 6), "Chard" comments on the brazen behavior of Jewish thugs and the passivity of the police.

views and that since then he had come to realize that Faurisson was wrong (*Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998).

In a much-publicized recent case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined French philosopher Roger Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000) — not 120,000 francs, as widely reported — for statements made in his 1996 book *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics," reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*). Specifically, he was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing scholarly skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media.

Garaudy, an 84-year-old convert to Islam, has won considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where this case is widely regarded as another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (More on the Garaudy affair will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)

On the day that the verdict was pronounced against Garaudy, some 30 thugs of the Jewish youth organization "Betar" (comparable to the Jewish Defense League in the USA) assaulted revisionists at the Paris court house (*Palais de Justice*). At least



Robert Faurisson

eight persons were injured: six inside the building and two outside. Although about 120 guards and gendarmes were present, there were no arrests. Faurisson and four others, along with two guards, had to escape from the building through an underground passageway.

Jacques Vergès, Garaudy's defense attorney, and Eric Delcroix, attorney for co-defendant Pierre Guillaume (publisher of Garaudy's book), filed a formal complaint with the court. Faurisson also protested the official toleration of Jewish violence in an open letter to the *Commandant militaire du Palais de Justice*. On several occasions since 1980, Betar thugs have assaulted peaceable court house visitors, acting with impunity as security guards and gendarmes passively stood by. (See "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, esp. pp. 8-9.)

— March 22, 1998

Important People

"Half the harm that is done in this world is due to people who want to feel important. They don't want to do harm — but the harm does not interest them. Or they do not see it, or they justify it. Because they are absorbed in the endless struggle to think well of themselves."

— T. S. Eliot

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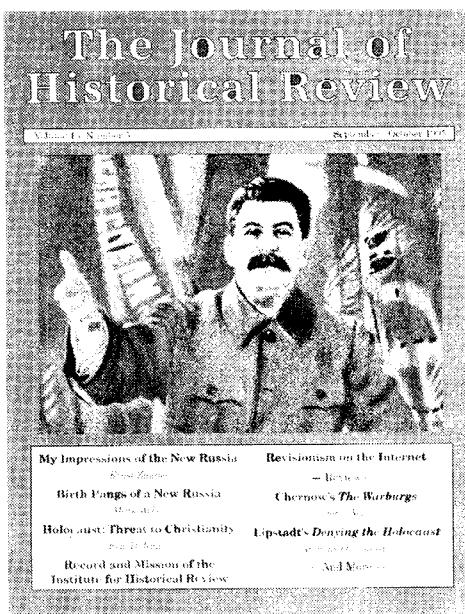
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Comparing the Titanic Sinking History's Little-Known Naval Disasters

Many of those who view "Titanic," the new blockbuster motion picture, may leave the movie theater believing that the April 15, 1912, sinking of the great British liner, with the loss of 1,523 men, women and children, was history's greatest maritime disaster.

Others may perhaps think of the British passenger liner *Lusitania*, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives.

But these disasters are dwarfed by the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*, three German ships crowded with evacuated refugees and wounded soldiers that were struck by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War.

As John Ries points out in his essay in the Fall 1992 *Journal*, "History's Greatest Naval Disasters," more lives were lost in the case of each of these vessels than in the sinkings of either the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*.

The first of these German ships to go down was the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, a 25,000-ton converted luxury liner that had been serving as a hospital ship. When it left the Baltic harbor of Gdynia (Gotenhafen) on January 30, 1945, it was jammed with nearly 5,000 refugees, mostly women and children, and 1,600 military servicemen. At shortly after nine o'clock in the evening, it was struck by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13. Convoy vessels were able to rescue only about 900 from the sub-freezing Baltic waters. At least 5,400 perished.

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10, the *General Steuben* sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the *Gustloff*, and in almost the same location, sank the *Steuben* with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes.

The sinking of the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time. The converted 5,230-ton transport ship had set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of

some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

Just a few minutes before midnight, the Soviet submarine L-3 fired two torpedoes at the *Goya*, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below. The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of nearly 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors.

Concluding his essay on this chapter of history, Ries wrote:

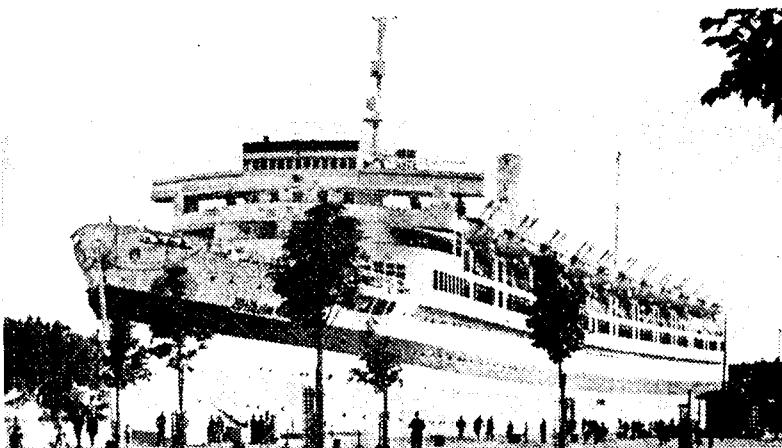
Although little known, the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Goya* — with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives — remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the *Gustloff*, the *Steuben* and the *Goya* — as well as many other smaller and lesser known vessels — is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Lesser known but also worthy of note is the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck* on May 27, 1941. Following intense attack in the Atlantic from British planes and four major British warships, it went under with the loss of some 2,200 men.

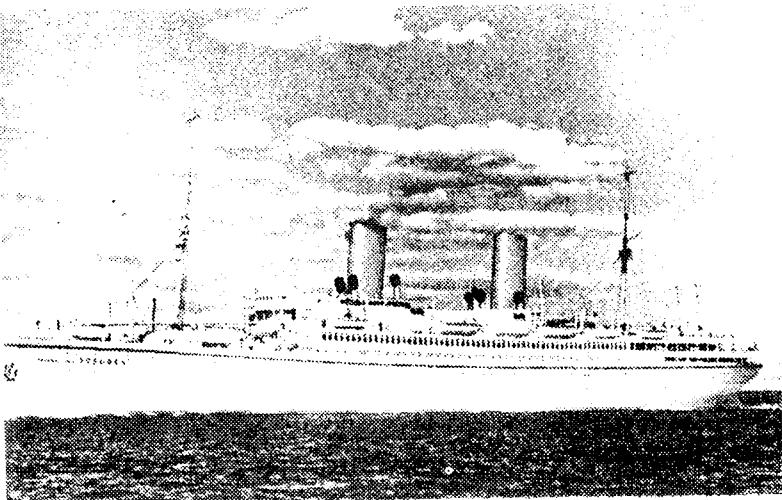
Even more tragic is the case of the *Cap Arcona*, a 27,650-ton converted German passenger ship packed with evacuated concentration camp inmates. On May 3, 1945, just a week before the end of the war, it was sunk by fire from a British fighter-bomber as it was moored in Lübeck harbor. Some 5,000 persons, nearly all of them inmates, lost their lives. Only about 500 could be rescued.

A similar fate befell the *Thielbek*, a German ship likewise packed with 2,800 inmates who were being evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Succumbing to intense fire from British war planes, it sank on May 3, 1945, with the loss of all on board.

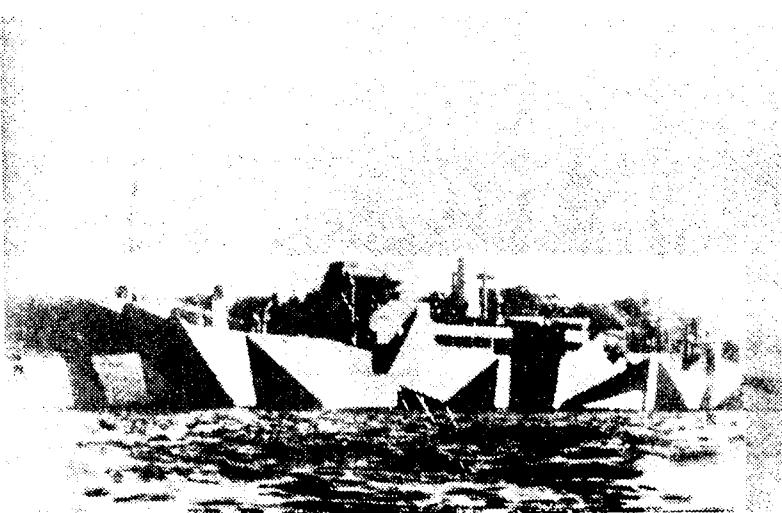
— M. W.



The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, which served before the war as a luxury liner, was overloaded with desperate civilian refugees when it was struck on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives.



The *General Steuben* was overloaded with wounded soldiers and refugees when it was sunk on February 10, 1945, with a loss of 3,500 lives. By comparison, 1,523 lives were lost in the 1912 sinking of the *Titanic*.



The *Goya*, shown here with camouflage paint, was attacked by Soviet submarine L-3 on April 16, 1945, taking nearly 7,000 lives. This little-known sinking is the greatest maritime disaster in history.

"No sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men."

— Thomas Carlyle

"The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see."

— Winston Churchill

Robert Graham and Revisionism

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

When I was writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered an extraordinary source, namely, the multi-volume collection of documents and commentary *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale* ("Acts and documents of the Holy See relative to the Second World War"). The series, whose principal editor was Robert A. Graham, was still being published by the Vatican, and further volumes were in preparation.

Graham was a former editor of the Jesuit magazine *America*. The "extermination" claim was not challenged in the series, and it was generally understood that Graham's main interest was in defending the wartime Pope Pius XII against charges of tacit consent to, and even collaboration with, Nazi policies of physical extermination of the Jews. Such charges crested with Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*.

I believed that the Vatican documents constitute an important source. I devoted an entire appendix of my book to discussing them.

In studying the series of volumes I was struck by some of the editorial remarks, and believed that the editor, although not a revisionist in our sense, was implicitly raising fundamental questions of a revisionist bent. A good example was the quotation of some selected passages from some reports, from apparently well informed sources, delivered to the Pope on July 15, 1943, which described Auschwitz as essentially a work camp, and spoke of Jews who had been deported from France sending letters back to their families.¹

These impressions were so strong that I believed it necessary to contact Graham directly. In early 1977 I wrote to him in Rome, thus starting a very satisfactory and years-long correspondence, although the request for copies of documents that I made to him at the time could not be filled, for reasons beyond his control.²

In summer 1977 I was in Rome and visited him. Our conversation confirmed to me what I had read between the lines in *Actes et documents*; the editor was puzzled by the evidence he had examined, because much of it seemed impossible to reconcile with the "extermination" legend. He showed me a pamphlet I had not seen, published in 1943 by the "Polish Labor Group" which was based in New York

but in touch with the Polish underground. Its title was appropriate: *Oswiecim — Camp of Death* ("Oswiecim" is Polish for "Auschwitz"). The pamphlet presented the truth with some embellishment, but what was important to Graham was that it did not speak of "exterminations" in any way reconcilable with the legend. He let me borrow the pamphlet to photocopy.

Volume 10 of *Actes et documents* was long delayed, and I wrote to Graham several times in my eagerness to see it. When publication finally came in 1980, Graham was thoughtful enough to alert me personally. I got a copy and found references to more interesting but unpublished documents. Again I wrote to Graham and happily, this time, my request was filled.³

At the IHR Conference in 1982, I compared the Holocaust legend to the Donation of Constantine, and sent Graham a copy of the paper. In the paper I had noted that the Jewish historian Walter Laqueur understood as I did "that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews."⁴ Graham acknowledged receipt of the copy of my paper with a very kind, respectful and encouraging letter, referring to and not disputing the remark about the Vatican. He only complained that Laqueur was, without foundation, accusing his group of suppressing relevant documents. That letter from Graham is reproduced here.

I always knew that there was an honest and honorable man editing the publication of the Vatican documents.

Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J., died in a California retirement home, at age 84, on February 11, 1997.

— July 31, 1997

Notes

1. *Actes et documents*, vol. 9, pp. 42, 393. The footnote on p. 42 should refer to "Nr. 264", not 164. More examples are given toward the end of "Appendix E" of my book.
2. I wanted copies of the documents about deportations of Jews that *Actes et documents* had quoted but not reproduced. Graham told me to send my "request through channels," that is, to Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. I did so but Casaroli replied



ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S. J.
VIA DI PORTA PINCIANA, 1
00187 ROME - (ITALY)

VILLA MALTA 25 January 1983

Robert A. Graham, S.J.



Pope Pius XII

Dear Mr. Butz,

Your airmailed copy of your September 1982 paper reached me today. I hasten to thank you for keeping me in mind when elaborating on your theme.

On a quick reading, I see I must reflect further on the validity of your approach. I never thought of this in the analogy of the "onation of Constantine!"

I note your quote from Laqueur on the Vatican. He was apparently peeved at us for telling him we published what we had, as of 1942. What makes him assume that there is on the contrary a lot more? This is begging the question.

I wish you a prosperous New Year and fresh discoveries and new insights on a great drama!

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Graham

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15 November 1994

Mr. Mark Weber
Institute for Historical Review
P.O.Box 2739
Newport Beach, CA 92659
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Weber,

I received only today your letter of 20 August; it came, as indicated, by surface mail. That takes time; there are no fast transatlantic ships anymore.

I thank you for your enclosures. I thank you also for your interest in my own writings. I like to know ever more about the events of WWII. But exaggerations abound. Some people make outrageous statements which in many cases they seem to get away with. This is why I am glad to get a variety of views. I like to make up my own mind. Need I say that you and your collaborators have chosen a rocky road, for which you deserve credit.

Mr. Butz came to see me some years ago. Do you ever get to Rome?

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) Robert A. Graham

that because the reports in question "were provided by Jewish authorities in France," I should address myself to them. I wrote to the *Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, in Paris, but received no answer. I also visited the *Centre* in July 1977, but could not find the documents.

3. The most interesting document was a letter from Alexandru Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania, to Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, dated June 30, 1944. It expressed concern that the Jews of Hungary were "exposed to great privations and sufferings," at a time when the legend would have us believe they were mostly dead. The Jews of Hungary and Romania remained in close contact throughout this period.
4. The paper, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," was published in the Winter 1982 *Journal*, and appears as Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. [This presentation is also available on audio cassette, stock #A028, for \$9.95, plus shipping.]

American-Born Vatican Historian Refuted 'Holocaust Complicity' Charges

One of the most persistent and malicious accusations leveled against the Roman Catholic Church in recent decades is the charge that Pope Pius XII and the Vatican acquiesced in the slaughter of millions of Jews during the Second World War by failing explicitly to condemn the killings. (On this subject, see: Mary Ball Martinez, "Pope Pius XII During the Second World War," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*.)

Greatly contributing to this campaign was a play, "The Deputy," which provoked intense worldwide discussion following its premiere in 1963. This polemical work by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth is based in large part on the "confessions" of former SS officer Kurt Gerstein. (For more on Gerstein, see Henri Roques' book-length study, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR.)

It is indeed true that Pope Pius XII made no explicit public condemnation during the war of killings of Jews — a fact that is often cited by the Church's critics to accuse the Vatican of grave moral culpability for passive complicity in "the Holocaust."

But as Dr. Arthur Butz has explained, a more reasonable explanation for this "silence" is the fact that Vatican officials were unable to confirm the rumors of a German policy or program to exterminate Europe's Jews, in spite of voluminous information received during the war years through an outstanding intelligence network. Thus, in late 1942 Pope Pius XII privately told an American official that, with regard to the extermination reports, he "felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda." (Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* [1981], pp. 104-105)

As Dr. Butz has further pointed out, neither the Allied governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or even the major international Jewish organizations, acted as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See Butz' paper, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," published as Supplement B in the current edition of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.)

In recent years, the most important Vatican voice refuting the "complicity" charge was that of the American-born historian Robert A. Graham, the Catholic Church's foremost authority on the Papacy's role during the Second World War. He once characterized the "complicity" accusations as "an obscenity."

Graham, a native of San Francisco, was born in 1912, the son of a baseball coach. After his ordina-

tion as a Jesuit priest in 1941, he studied at various Jesuit colleges, earned a doctorate in political science from the University of Geneva in 1952, and joined the staff of the Jesuit magazine *America* in New York. While serving as the magazine's associate editor, he began his decades-long investigation of social, historical and diplomatic issues.

Responding to the international furor of the early 1960s regarding the Vatican's wartime role, Pope Paul VI ordered secret Vatican records of the wartime era to be opened, and assigned Fr. Graham and three other scholars the great task of sifting, organizing and publishing this mass of material.

Over the course of the next 17 years, Graham and his associates issued a series of eleven comprehensive volumes of documents, supplemented with informed comment, under the title *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*. These detailed records show conclusively that Pope Pius XII actively aided large numbers of persecuted Jews during the war years, and that the Vatican was an important haven of refuge and assistance for the continent's Jews.

After the completion of this project in 1981, Fr. Graham continued his archival research and scholarly writing until the final months of his life.

For 24 years he was also a regular contributor to *Columbia*, the magazine of the US Catholic fraternal organization Knights of Columbus.

During his lifetime Graham wrote several books based on his extensive research in Vatican and other archives, including *Vatican Diplomacy* (1959), *Pope Pius XII and the Jews*, and *The Vatican and Communism During World War II* (1996). Over the years he also published many of his findings in numerous articles that appeared in the Rome-based scholarly journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*.

Fr. Graham's scrupulousness and open-mindedness is also reflected in his relations with revisionist researchers, as shown in the two letters reproduced here in facsimile (reduced).

— M.W.

"It is better to try big things even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor souls who neither enjoy much nor suffer much."

— Theodore Roosevelt

Pro-Israel Jews Play Ominous Role in Clinton Administration

RICHARD H. CURTISS

United States history of the past half-century is replete with instances of the pro-Israel community in America taking on the US foreign affairs establishment and winning. Two examples will suffice to show how long this has been going on.

In a meeting with President Harry Truman in 1945, heads of US diplomatic missions in the Middle East advised strongly against partitioning Palestine, saying it would result in a bloodbath in the short run and major problems for the United States in the Middle East and Asia in the long run. They were right, as history has proven. But President Truman's reply then was, "I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." Truman put American diplomatic muscle behind the partition resolution in the United Nations. In November 1947, partition prevailed, and fighting broke out almost immediately afterward.

Six months later, in May 1948, the question of diplomatic recognition for the Jewish state arose. Clark Clifford, Truman's domestic political adviser, warned him that if he did not recognize Israel he might lose the 1948 presidential election. General of the Armies George Marshall, America's top-ranking World War II military leader, who by then was serving as Truman's Secretary of State, counseled strongly against recognizing the soon-to-be State of Israel before it defined its borders. In Marshall's words, "I said bluntly that if the president were to

follow Mr. Clifford's advice and if in the elections I were to vote, I would vote against the President." Three days later, Truman recognized Israel eleven minutes after it proclaimed its independence. Nearly 50 years later Israel still has not defined its borders.

Things have come a long way since America's organized Jewish community scored those first major victories over common sense, US national interests, and the entire US foreign affairs establishment. In fact, in the administration of President Bill Clinton the pro-Israel portion of the Jewish community has become America's foreign affairs establishment.

In the State Department, the occupant of every position designated for assistant secretaries of state for regional affairs is Jewish or soon will be. And don't be misled by the "assistant" in the titles. The six regional assistant secretaries for Europe, the Near East, Africa, South Asia, the Far East, and Latin America and the Caribbean are the top foreign affairs officials for each of those geographic areas, which together encompass the world.

When it comes to the State Department's "Middle East peace team," the two top political appointees, Dennis Ross and his deputy, Aaron David Miller, both are Jewish with a long history of personal support for Zionism and residence in Israel.

Similarly, a large percentage of other top-echelon State Department political appointees and ambassadors are Jewish. A US ambassador who happened to be visiting Washington in October remarked to the writer that during Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, many State Department offices took on the forlorn, nearly deserted visage that used to characterize the brief interval between Christmas and New Year's day.

The same was true in the White House, where the top two foreign affairs officials, National Security Advisor Samuel Berger and his deputy, John Steinberg, are Jewish, as is Vice President Al Gore's national security advisor, Leon Furth. So are a lot of other White House policymakers. One of them, Clinton domestic political adviser Rahm Emmanuel, actually went to Israel for one month's service during the 1991 Gulf war in the Israel Defense Force

Richard H. Curtiss served as a career foreign service officer with the US Department of State and the US Information Agency, with postings in Indonesia, Germany, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and other countries. When he retired from the foreign service in 1980, he was chief inspector of the US Information Agency. Curtiss is author of *Changing Image: American Perspectives of the Arab-Israeli Dispute and Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for Control of US Middle East Policy*. He is currently Executive Director of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This article is reprinted from the Jan.-Feb. 1998 issue of *The Washington Report*.



President Harry Truman was warned by his top foreign policy advisers, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall, of grave long-term international problems if the United States backed the new Zionist state of Israel. Citing Jewish influence and pressure, Truman nevertheless decided in May 1948 to give US recognition and support to Israel.

"Overseas Volunteer Unit" to enable IDF personnel in essential civilian jobs to join their military units at the front. Emmanuel's Israeli father was a member of Menachem Begin's underground terrorist militia, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, and Rahm Emmanuel's uncle was killed while serving with Israeli forces in the 1948 war.

Nor is there anything particularly incongruous about the high percentage of top Jewish officials in the Clinton White House and foreign affairs establishment. In some other government departments, the situation differs only in the details.

Ironically, Secretary Donna Shalala of the Department of Health and Human Services is the only Arab American in the cabinet. But, according to HHS insiders, most of her second echelon officials, all White House appointees, are Jewish. So are a remarkably high percentage of top officials in the National Institutes of Health, which supervise hundreds of research grants at home and abroad.

A Similar Situation

At the Department of Commerce the situation is similar, even after the resignation of Secretary of

Commerce Mikey Kantor, a long-time pro-Israel activist and Clinton's 1992 election campaign manager. At the Pentagon and CIA, at political appointee levels (in contrast to career military and CIA officers), things are not that different.

Israelis consider Secretary of Defense William Cohen, a former Republican senator, Jewish, although he says he dropped out of the Jewish faith as a teenage. John Deutch, a CIA director in the first Clinton administration, also is Jewish, with close personal ties to Israel, including Israeli relatives and a residence there. Deutch is said to have resigned from the CIA position only because he was not appointed Secretary of Defense in the second Clinton administration.

The record of a staff meeting at Secretary Robert Rubin's Treasury Department early in the second Clinton administration shows that when top echelon leaders were discussing the best times to make announcements the Treasury does not want the American public to notice, one official said: "The time to do it is Christmas or Easter, since those are their two biggest holidays."

The "they" the official was speaking about in the apparently all-Jewish meeting were, of course, the 90 to 95 percent of US taxpayers who are of Christian heritage but who, in the Clinton administration, are so dramatically under-represented in top foreign policy-making positions.

This situation became so obvious early in the first Clinton administration that on September 2, 1994, Avinoam Bar-Yosef, Washington correspondent for *Ma'ariv*, Israel's most influential daily, wrote a lengthy and highly revealing report headlined, "The Jews in Clinton's Court." With the situation still further out of balance in the second administration, other Jewish journalists are reluctant to write about it further, and non-Jewish journalists are afraid to.

Outside the executive branch, both Clinton appointments to the nine-member Supreme Court are Jewish. In Congress some ten percent of senators are Jewish, as are 7.7 percent of the members of the House of Representatives. Yet no more than five million Americans describe themselves as Jewish, meaning less than two percent of a population of 260 million Americans.

Reactions to this astonishing imbalance between the governed and governing classes are mixed. Most Middle Easterners are aware of it and are baffled. The situation would be considered extremely dangerous in most of the Middle Eastern "mosaic societies" that endure in the wake of the vanished Ottoman empire. Minorities are represented in most governments in direct proportion to their percentage in the population.

In countries like Syria, where members of a Shi'i

Muslim minority dominate a Sunni Muslim majority, or Iraq, where the exact opposite is true, the situation is considered unstable and endures only because both governments have adopted harsh police state methods to punish unrest.

Europeans, who are belatedly becoming aware of the current US peculiarity, only shake their heads knowingly. They are quick to attribute the arrogance and vindictiveness that characterize current US foreign policy to the working out of old anti-European and anti-Arab hostilities by US officials pursuing a separate pro-Israel agenda. Politically sophisticated Europeans point out, off-the-record, that Israel-driven US policies ultimately could result in serious US reverses in many parts of the world.

Europeans almost unanimously (and perhaps hopefully) predict that such reverses ultimately will provide the catalyst for American anti-Semitism almost as virulent as that manifested in Germany before and during World War II, or the anti-Semitism which now lies barely below the surface in countries as diverse as France, Austria, Switzerland, Poland and Ukraine.

Americans seem less conscious of the imbalance within their own government because of the unwillingness of the mainstream US media to acknowledge that it exists. Negative reactions among US government officials who are aware of the situation are never expressed publicly — and only among trusted friends.

In fact the situation within the current administration is remarkably like that within the media a generation or two ago when American Jews assumed dominant roles in America's "elite" or "national" press. In 1980, during a Foreign Service Institute seminar with a rabbi from nearby George Washington University, the writer remarked on the preponderance of Jewish publishers, editors and investigative reporters on America's two "newspapers of record," *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and various national magazines. With no trace of defensiveness, the rabbi responded: "I used to think that too, but then I discovered that many of the media figures I had assumed were Jewish actually were not."

The writer pondered at length about what this could possibly mean. Perhaps that although many of the media elite then and now are of Jewish heritage, they aren't actual paid-up members of a synagogue? Using that sort of reasoning, one could unhesitatingly say that fewer than 50 percent of the American people are Christian. But of course, this "true" statement would be grossly misleading. Whatever his motives, the rabbi was fooling no one but himself.

The same is true of American public perception



Benjamin Netanyahu addresses the Israeli parliament in 1994 as Bill Clinton looks on.

of the present Jewish influence in Washington. Americans don't talk about it openly because it's politically incorrect to do so. But that doesn't mean they're not aware of it.

Remarked one retired foreign service officer to the writer, "The situation is so extraordinary and the misuse of his newly acquired Jewish power within the Clinton administration is so obvious, that it can't last. We are witnessing the peak of Jewish power in America right now. It has nowhere to go but down."

This is contested by Canadian-born former Mossad case worker Victor Ostrovsky, who was raised in Israel but returned to the land of his birth after he quit the Mossad in disgust. Things will not change soon in either the US or Canada, he predicts. In the name of helping Israel, North American Jews not only are consolidating the power they have quietly achieved, he insists, but also are steadily grasping for more. The long-term result, he says, will be such virulent anti-Semitism that most of what Jews have built for themselves in the New World will be swept away.

Nor, Ostrovsky predicts, would the Israelis, who are the catalyst for this self-destructive "overweening pride" among their American co-religionists, shed any tears over the downfall of their US backers. "The Israelis believe that all of these American Jews should have come to Israel as soon as it was created," Ostrovsky says. "Therefore, if they ultimately lose their privileged status in American life, it serves them right."

Ostrovsky says also that few Israelis worry about what will happen to their country if the hand of organized American Jewry is removed from the US foreign policy tiller. "It's the farthest thing from the minds of the Israelis," he says. "Illogical as it is, Israelis give their American cousins little or no credit for Israel's current secure place in the world. Therefore they don't worry at all about what will happen to Israel if American Jews lose their politi-

cal influence in Washington."

If Ostrovsky is correct in his assessment of his former Israeli compatriots, detachment from reality and overweening pride are not an American monopoly. In fact, the reckless over-confidence of Israel's Likud party prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, already has squandered most of the remarkable achievements of his two Labor party predecessors, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, in gaining acceptance of Israel by some 18 of the 22 members of the League of Arab States. Moreover, before he is through, Netanyahu's reckless arrogance may similarly undermine the remarkable achievements of Israel's dedicated supporters within the American Jewish community.

Guerriers d'Israël ("The Warriors of Israel"), are striking photographs of uniformed young Jewish men, members of the militantly Zionist "Betar" organization. Such groups were not only tolerated in Third Reich Germany, but were encouraged by the regime.

Other items in this issue deal with the elusive "gas chamber" at the Struthof-Natzweiler camp in French Alsace, and the emotion-laden question of differences of intelligence and behavior between races.

For further information, write: *L'Autre Histoire*, BP 3, 35134 Coesmes, Bretagne, France.

L'AUTRE HISTOIRE

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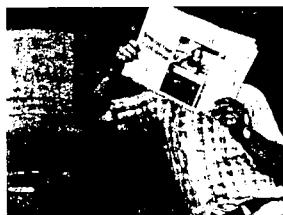
Une nouvelle utopie sociale s'installe dans les pays industrialisés: peuples d'Europe, celle des "mentais" apprises par la diversité raciale

Elie Wiesel, le nouvel homme-obsus page 19

Selon les souvenirs qu'Elie Wiesel, confiés au *New York Times*, non seulement notre héros a mérité son Nobel, mais aussi de figurer au livre des records actuels

Churchill trahit à Pearl Harbor page 25

Un livre passe sous silence par la presse apporte des éléments de preuve à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle les Britanniques auraient eu connaissance de l'attaque de la base de Pearl Harbor avant les Américains



Siegfried Verbeke l'espion d'Anvers page 31

La Flandre est un des rares pays où le défilé libertaire des «hommes confessionniers» connaît encore quelques nombreuses fêtes. Ces espaces de liberté résiduels sont mis à profit par Siegfried Verbeke



Et aussi : Livres, pp. 16, 17 et 40; Revues, p. 18; Breves, pp. 15, 23, 24, 30, 38 et 39; Courrier des lecteurs, pp. 41 à 48.



"A Marxist system typically spares criminals, while it also treats its political opponents as criminals."

— Solzhenitsyn

'Alternative History' in France

In France, a lively new revisionist history periodical *l'Autre Histoire* ("The Other History" or "Alternative History") is making a mark. Now in its third year of publication, a typical issue of this attractively laid out, richly illustrated, and intelligently written magazine-format periodical is 48 pages in length. Editor-publisher is Trystan Mordrel.

The June 1997 issue (No. 8) features an interview with David Irving along with a profile of the controversial British historian. It also includes a lengthy article on the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish Question" in Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries (translated and adapted from the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*), and a review-essay by Joseph Bishop about Roosevelt's efforts to provoke war with Japan (translated and adapted from the March-April 1996 *Journal*).

A typical issue includes several pages of readers' letters, a selection of brief news items, short reviews of new books, and summary descriptions of interesting periodicals around the world.

A humorous piece by Bradley Smith about Elie Wiesel, and an interview with the important European revisionist publisher Siegfried Verbeke, are featured in the October 1997 issue (No. 9), along with an essay by Jared Taylor on "race, lies and diversity" (translated from his *American Renaissance* newsletter).

The seven-page lead article in the August 1995 issue traces the little-known history of militant Zionist groups in Europe from the 1930s to the present, including the working alliance between National Socialism and Zionism during the 1930s. Accompanying the article, which is based on an impressive recent book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les*

“FAVORED RACES”

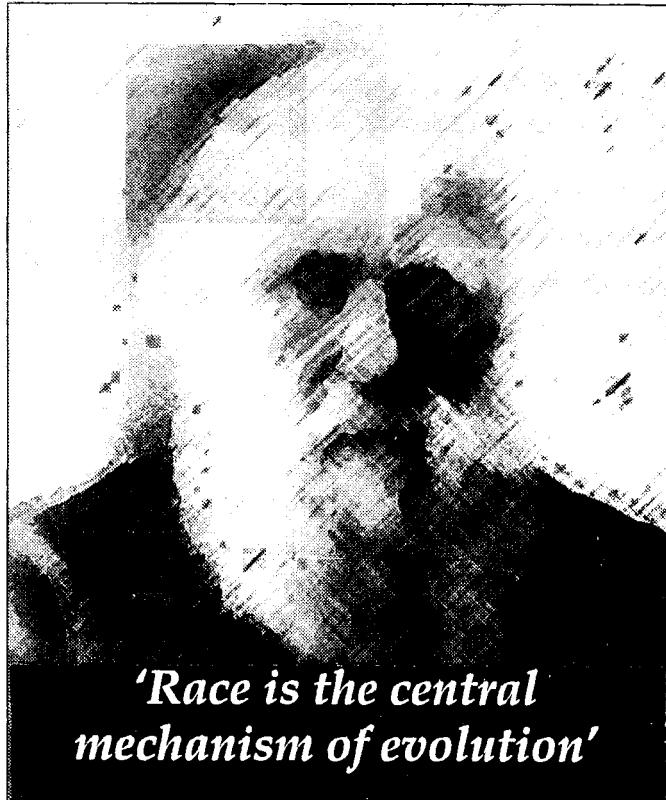
An excerpt from the “Eugenic Manifesto.”

*For a free copy of the “Eugenic Manifesto,” from which the below is an excerpt,
please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076*

The subtitle of Darwin's *Origin of Species* is “On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”* The human race has evolved to its present state of intelligence and power because of “the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”** “Race”* is the central mechanism of evolution that has created all living things. “The preservation of favored races”* is a simple process to understand, but its effects over time are awesome. If we examine the process, we find that at some stage in evolution we can observe a group of individuals of a single species which exist in an area segregated from other members of that same species. As a result of chance mutation, there occur genetic variations in some members of that segregated group. As the generations continue to reproduce, these genetic variations accumulate in the progeny of that segregated group. At first, the accumulated genetic variations do not make the segregated group different enough from the original species to justify calling the segregated group a new species or even a new “favored race”* of the original species. However, after many generations, the segregated group or tribe which had accumulated sufficient genetic differences would be called a new “race”* of the original species. Over time, these newly developed segregated races continue to accumulate genetic differences through chance mutation, variation, etc. The “favored”* variations increase the survivability of the “race”* which carries them.

Once this new “favored race”* has become different enough from the original species, it is called a new species. Hence the subtitle, “On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.”* There is really no probability that the “races”* would be equal. In fact, the whole notion runs directly counter to all evolutionary theory and to the whole science of biology.

Given the laws of biology, it would be a great surprise if the average strength or intelligence of one “race”* was found to be exactly equal to the average strength or intelligence of a different “race.”* Despite the controversy surrounding “race,”* it is not particularly useful to know which “race”* happens, as the result of an accident of evolutionary development, to have greater average strength or greater average intelligence because one could not predict from this average that any particular individual member of one “race,” was going to be superior or inferior to any particular individual member of a different “race.”* There are superior and inferior, strong and weak, intelligent and unintelligent individuals in all “races.”* Regardless of “racial”* averages, one would still have to judge each individual on the basis of individual merit without reference to the average of the group to which he happened to belong. Only by judging people as individuals, could we avoid injustice and enable all people to make the maximum contribution to society. There is no such thing as a superior “race”* per se, in the sense that every member of one “race”* is superior to every member of another



‘Race is the central mechanism of evolution’

“race.”* Neither is there such a thing as “racial”* equality in the sense that the average strength or intelligence of one “race”* is equal to the average strength or intelligence of every other “race.”* By judging people as individuals, one could perhaps identify a (superior) sociobiological class which might be a cross section of all “races”* although probably not in equal proportion. The only way you could have a [superior race] would be if a “favored race”* evolved into and became the next more highly evolved species above homosapiens, in which case it would become a superior species. Eugenics is a moral commitment not a racial affiliation and any “race”* that adopted a eugenic program could, given sufficient time, evolve into and become the next more highly evolved species above homo-sapiens. It is our hope that all “races”* will accept that moral responsibility and accomplish that objective, but it can not be accomplished within the political, philosophical and religious milieu of the 20th century.

**Origin Of Species*, CHARLES DARWIN

For a free copy of the “Eugenic Manifesto,” from which the above is an excerpt, please write to: P.O. Box 72, New Concord, KY 42076, U.S.A.

'The More Things Change ...'

Will Rogers on American 'Moral Leadership' and Foreign Adventurism

Until his death in an airplane crash in 1935, Will Rogers delighted Americans with his witty and astute commentary on social and political issues of the day. The following excerpts from his syndicated newspaper columns and radio broadcasts between 1925 and 1935 were compiled by Bryan B. Sterling and Frances N. Sterling, who have published eight books and a play about the "cowboy philosopher." This collection of excerpts first appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1996.

Europe has got a thing that America always falls for, and that's when they tell us they want our "moral leadership." That's almost like telling an old man he's got sex appeal. It's a line of bunk that this country falls for and always has. Our delegates swell out their chests and really believe that the world is just hanging by a thread.

It has just become almost impossible for a country to have a nice, home-talent little revolution among themselves, without us butting into it. But here we go again. If we ever pass out as a great nation, we ought to put on our tombstone: "America died from a delusion that she had moral leadership."

Now you can't pick up a paper without reading where our Marines have landed to keep some nations from shooting each other, and if necessary we shoot them to keep them from shooting each other. America has a great habit of always talking about protecting American interests in some foreign country. Protect them here at home. There are more American interests right here than anywhere. What would we say if the Chinese was to send a gunboat up the Mississippi?



Those little Balkan nations, they are like a mess of stray terriers anyhow, they just as well be fighting. I remember when I was over in Europe in the summer of '26, why, they were growling at each other like fat prima donnas on the same opera bill. I hit upon a half dozen of those Balkan nations and Yugoslavia. Now did you know they got their two bands of people, called the Serbians and the Croats? Well, the Croats, they say they are downtrodden. The one thing their whole country is united in, is that they hate Italy.

Now Serbia, she don't want to lose her reputation — they want to go down in history as having started all the wars. You see, the whole mess of 'em, they have no more love for each other than a litter of hyenas. They either lost or gained territory during a war, and they feel — those that did gain — that in another war they could grab off even more, and the ones that lost can't see how they could possibly make that mistake again. You see, you can't just sit down and cut out a nation on the map. You don't know how many people in any country are pulling for a revolution, for they have a great amount of dissatisfied people in them. The more nations you create, the more chances you have of war. That's self-disintegration of small nations.

You know, we haven't got any business in those far-away wars. Seven thousand miles is a long way to go to shoot somebody, especially if you are not right sure they need shooting, and you are not sure whether you are shooting the right side or not. You see, it's their war and they have a right to fight it as they see fit, without any advice from us.

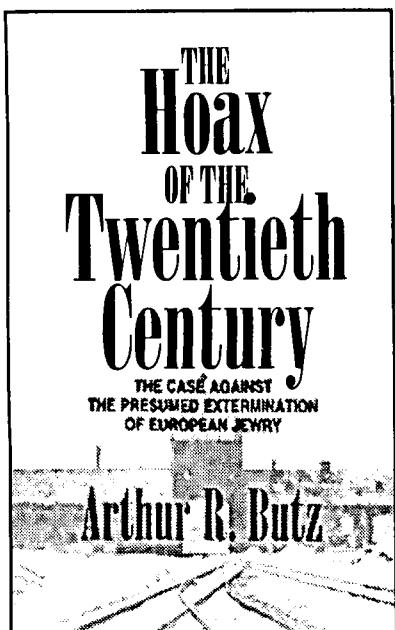
When we start out trying to make everybody have moral elections, why, it just don't look like we are going to have Marines enough to go Round 1. Why, if it wasn't for the movies picturing Marines going from one country to another, we would never know what they looked like. I had an unusual experience the other day — I seen a Marine in America.

If we keep our nose clean and don't start yapping about somebody else's honor or what our moral obligations are, we might not get dragged into it. But it's going to take better statesmanship than we have been favored with heretofore.

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which

do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its tenth US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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Probing Look at 'Capital Punishment Industry' Affirms Expertise of Auschwitz Investigator Leuchter

The Execution Protocol: Inside America's Capital Punishment Industry, by Stephen Trombley. Hardcover. New York: Crown, 1992. (Softcover. New York: Anchor Books, 1993.) 342 pages. Photographs. Index.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

When French professor Robert Faurisson and other revisionist skeptics first began asking tough questions about how, precisely, the infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz were built and operated, defenders of the Holocaust story responded by declaring that such inquiries were simply not permissible. In a statement issued in February 1979, and published in the prominent French daily *Le Monde*, a group of 34 French intellectuals boldly declared: "The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers."

While the Holocaust lobby was suppressing awkward questions about the principal murder weapon used in what is said to be history's greatest crime, skeptics organized their own forensic investigations. The first and most important of these was conducted in February 1988 by an American execution hardware specialist named Fred Leuchter.

In April 1988 Leuchter testified under oath about his investigation and findings at the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-born publisher Ernst Zündel. In a document that is now widely known simply as *The Leuchter Report*, he laid out his findings in detail, explaining each step of his on-site investigation. "It is the best engineering opinion of this author," his *Report* concluded, "that the alleged gas chambers at the inspected sites could not have then been, or now be, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers."

Leuchter's findings, which have been subsequently confirmed by other independent forensic investigators, shatter the keystone of the Holocaust legend — the Auschwitz gassing story.

With many tens of thousands of copies of *The Leuchter Report* in circulation around the world, in all the major languages, and through speeches (including addresses at the IHR Conferences of

1989, 1990 and 1992), the impact of this one man's work has been tremendous.

Damage Control

Alarmed by this, the "Never Forgive, Never Forget" brigade wasted no time taking counter-measures. "Nazi hunter" Beate Klarsfeld announced that Fred Leuchter "has to understand that in denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished."

Jewish organizations launched a vicious smear campaign to destroy his reputation and ability to make a living. Leading the charge was Shelly Shapiro and her group, "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice," which called Leuchter a fraud and imposter, claiming he lacked qualifications as an execution equipment specialist. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 421-492.)

With the cooperation of mainstream journalists and editors, this campaign was successful. Leuchter's contracts with state governments to manufacture, install and service execution hardware were cancelled, and he was driven into semi-hiding, forced from his home in Massachusetts to take up private work elsewhere. No American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby.

Incontestable Expertise

In spite of the widely disseminated lies about his competence, the facts are incontestable. A feature article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 1990), for example, factually described Leuchter as

the nation's only commercial supplier of execution equipment... A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems...

Similarly, a lengthy *New York Times* article (Oct. 13, 1990), complete with a front-page photo of Leuchter, called him "the nation's leading adviser on capital punishment."

An In-Depth Look

The most detailed treatment of Leuchter and his career is provided in *The Execution Protocol*, a

examination of the US system of capital punishment by an English-born writer and film-maker who lives in Los Angeles and London. This disturbing but fascinating book is based on extensive interviews with individuals on both sides of what author Stephen Trombley calls "America's Capital Punishment Industry."

The book's prominent treatment of Leuchter relies heavily on a lengthy interview with him at his home and workplace near Boston. Included are photographs showing Leuchter by the control module of his lethal injection machine, and pictures of an electric chair and an lethal injection apparatus he built.

Refuting the main lies that have been spread about him, Trombley confirms (p. 9) that Leuchter is, in fact, "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware. His products include electric chairs, gas chambers, gallows, and lethal injection machines. He offers design, construction, installation, staff training and maintenance." Leuchter also has a number of impressive inventions to his credit, Trombley notes (pp. 35, 71), including a "modular electric chair — the most advanced ever built," and the lethal injection machine "by which executions are now carried out in five states."

Trombley takes a close look at each of five methods of execution that are used in the three dozen states where capital crimes are punished by death: lethal injection, electric chair, gas chamber, firing squad and hanging. Tracing the history and problems of each method, he explains in grim detail just how things can go wrong in an execution. As it happens, quite a few executions are botched, resulting in deaths that are painful for the prisoner and terrifying for witnesses.

If the rope used to hang a prisoner is not just the right length, thickness or strength, the prisoner can slowly and painfully strangle to death (rather than die instantly with a broken neck). In some botched cases the prisoner is decapitated, or the rope snaps, causing the terrified but still conscious prisoner to plunge to the ground. Firing squads sometimes miss the target pinned to the prisoner's heart, causing him to slowly bleed to death. Even under ideal conditions, firing squad executions are messy. An improperly built or maintained electric chair will literally fry the condemned prisoner, causing excruciating pain. Gas chamber executions are especially likely to be botched, with the condemned prisoner dying in painful, drawn out agony.

Gas Chamber Dangers

Killing someone in a gas chamber is very dangerous for those who carry out the execution, above all because the body of the dead prisoner is saturated with lethal gas. After the execution, explains Leuchter (p. 98), "You go in. The inmate has to be



Fred Leuchter at the 1992 IHR Conference

completely washed down with chlorine bleach or with ammonia. The poison exudes right out through his skin. And if you gave the body to an undertaker, you'd *kill* the undertaker. You've got to go in, you've got to completely wash the body."

Bill Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, confirms the danger (p. 102): "One of the things that cyanide gas does, it goes in the pores of your skin. You hose the body down, see. You have to use rubber gloves, and you hose the body down to decontaminate it before you do anything [else]." (Armontrout also testified as an expert witness in the 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto, confirming Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost gas chamber specialist.)

Gas chambers shouldn't be used at all, says Leuchter (p. 13): "They're dangerous. They're dangerous to the people who have to use them, and they're dangerous for the witnesses. They ought to take all of them and cut them in half with a chain saw and get rid of them." Of the five execution methods used in the United States, he prefers electrocution because it is the least painful, least problem prone, and least costly.

With a career built on the motto "Capital punishment, not capital torture," Leuchter takes pride in his work. He is glad to be able to ensure that condemned prisoners die painlessly, that the personnel who carry out executions are not endangered, and that taxpayer dollars are saved.



Stephen Trombley

Fair Treatment

Trombley reports with remarkable fairness on Leuchter's investigations of "gas chambers" at the sites of wartime camps, his testimony in the 1988 Zündel trial, and the campaign against him, including his arrest and expulsion from Britain in November 1991.

Writing with praiseworthy restraint, Trombley volunteers no opinion of his own about Leuchter's controversial investigations on Zündel's behalf, or his motives in speaking out on this emotion-laden issue, but instead permits the execution hardware expert to speak for himself. Leuchter told the author that he when he agreed to carry out the Auschwitz investigation for Zündel, "he fully expected to find evidence of gas chambers" and "was surprised that he didn't." (p. 93)

In response to the author's question, "Do you believe that the Holocaust happened?", Leuchter said (p. 94):

I believed there had been a Holocaust. I believed I would find gas chambers. I told Ernst Zündel — he was positive I wouldn't find them — I told him that if I did find them, or even that [if] these facilities had the capability of being gas chambers, I was going to report such. I was like most Americans and probably most people all over the world, they believed that it happened. I believed what I'd been taught in school. I know that the facilities that everybody points to weren't gas chambers.

I think probably there was a Holocaust, but I think it depends upon how one defines "Holocaust." There are serious questions that have to be asked and answered about that whole period in our history ...

Because the author was sloppy in checking facts, this book is not without defects. A good example is the way he confuses British historian David Irving

with French scholar Robert Faurisson (pp. 84-85). Trombley tells readers that Irving

had long maintained that a study of executions by lethal gas in the United States would help to "prove" that the Nazi gas chambers never existed. He argued that American prisons are the only place where cyanide gas has been used to kill human beings deliberately; and that American prison wardens who have carried out gas executions could be important sources of evidence which could disprove the Holocaust "myth."

Trombley goes on to assert that Irving contacted Leuchter to carry out the investigation for the Zündel trial. In fact, it was Faurisson who had long stressed the importance of US gas chambers in understanding the alleged wartime German gas facilities. And it was Faurisson, not Irving, who first established contact with Leuchter in early 1988.

Trombley also asserts that *The Leuchter Report* has been published in the United States by the "Institute for Historical Research" (p. 87). While it is true that the Institute for Historical *Review* distributes the *Report*, it is actually published by others.

In spite of such flaws, this well written and balanced work performs an important service, not least because it authoritatively establishes that Fred Leuchter was indeed "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware" at the time he carried out his forensic on-site investigation of the Auschwitz "gas chambers." *The Execution Protocol* thus vindicates Leuchter and those who have defended him, and debunks the most mendacious of the Holocaust lobby's many lies about him.

Hostility Toward Damaging Truth

... Men seek to avoid being deceived less than they seek to avoid being injured by deception. They detest illusion not so much as the noxious consequences of certain types of illusion. In a similar, limited sense, men also want the truth; they welcome agreeable, life-sustaining consequences of truth, are indifferent toward pure knowledge that brings no consequences, and are downright hostile toward possibly damaging and destructive truth.

— Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne* ("On Truth and Falsehood in the Extra-Moral Sense"), 1873.

A Revealing But Flawed Look at Jewish Political Clout

Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment, by Jonathan J. Goldberg. Addison-Wesley, 1996. Hardcover. 436 pages. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Shawn L. Twing

Jewish Power, by J. J. Goldberg, is an insider's eye-opening and often startlingly frank discussion of Jewish influence in American politics, and an examination of the historical factors that have made that influence possible. What is extraordinary about *Jewish Power* is the blatant double standard it illustrates. Had the same book been written by a non-Jewish author, it would certainly have been dismissed as the product of anti-Semitic bias and a predisposition for conspiracy theories. Supporting this assertion are several notable examples.

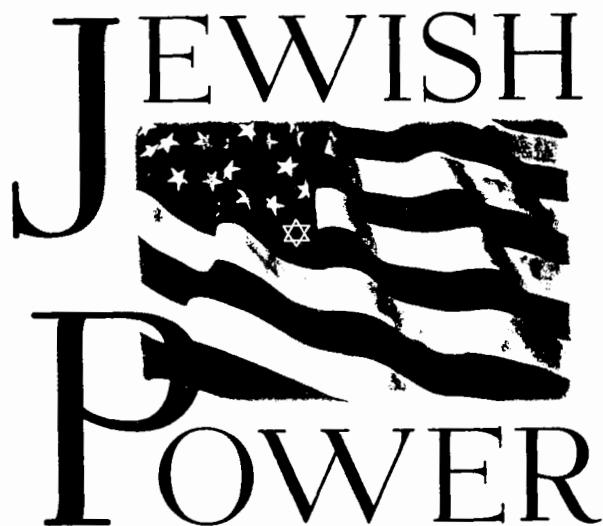
In chapter 9, "I Am Joseph Your Brother: Jews and Public Office," Goldberg discusses the presence of several Jewish Americans in key political positions, and how their religious/ethnic identity has affected their performance on the job. Of particular interest were the Bush administration officials in charge of the Middle East peace process under Secretary of State James Baker. Describing Dennis Ross, Aaron David Miller and Daniel Kurtzer of the State Department, and Richard Haass of the National Security Council as "Baker's Jewish peace team" (p. 231), Goldberg points out that "Haass was educated in a Reform [Judaism] congregation," that "Ross, Miller, and Kurtzer all were active synagogue goers," and that "Miller and Kurtzer both maintained kosher homes and sent their children to Jewish parochial schools." Does being Jewish affect their performance on the job? One of the four, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said, "We act in America's interest, but through a prism."

Double Standard

These same words, reported by a non-Jew, certainly would have evoked charges of anti-Semitism, and would have made it difficult to get the book published, much less distributed. Analyzing the motives of prominent Jews in politics, or even commenting on their religious identity, simply is unacceptable for non-Jews, a double standard that

Shawn L. Twing is news editor of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This review is reprinted from the June-July 1997 issue of *The Washington Report*.

J.J. GOLDBERG



Inside the
American Jewish
Establishment

makes it increasingly difficult to communicate frankly.

Nevertheless, the fact that Baker created an entirely Jewish peace process team also is significant in Goldberg's eyes. Two members of that team, Dennis Ross and Aaron David Miller, were held over to lead the Clinton administration's efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, along with US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

If indeed they view their jobs "through a prism," is it reasonable to assume that the United States really is an "honest broker" for peace? Imagine, if you can, the reaction that would follow an announcement that, for its second term, the Clinton administration was appointing a Middle East peace process team comprising entirely Muslim Arab Americans: American Muslim Council executive director Abdurahman Alamoudi, Council on American Islamic Relations executive director Nihad Awad and president Mohammed Mehdi of the National Council on Islamic Affairs.

In fact the comparison is particularly apt because of the present team, US Ambassador to

Israel Martin Indyk is a former official of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and a founder and first executive director of AIPAC's think-tank spin-off, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and Ross is a former fellow of that Institute. Even author Goldberg seems baffled at why all of the top members of America's Middle East peace team must be not only Jewish, but also closely identified personally with Israel and its myriad of supporting organizations in the national capital.

Some of Goldberg's statements describing the political clout of AIPAC, Israel's all-powerful Washington, DC, lobby, and other organizations representing organized American Jewry, also very likely would be challenged if made by a non-Jewish author. For example:

- "there have been threats to those in Washington who opposed Israeli policy: the senators and representatives sent down to defeat, like Charles Percy and Paul Findley, for defying the Jewish lobby" (p. 5)

- "AIPAC offered Jewish activists access to genuine power, rubbing shoulders with senators and representatives and bullying the White House" (p. 224)

- "[AIPAC] activists learn to 'bundle' donations, extracting campaign contributions from friends, relatives, and co-workers, and delivering them to the candidate in a bundle so as to make a stronger impression" (p. 224)

- "It is one of the worst-kept secrets in American Jewish politics that the campaign contribution is a major key to Jewish power" (p. 266)

- "The most notorious use of Jewish campaign money is not to support candidates who have been friendly, but to oppose those who have been unfriendly. On several occasions in recent years, pro-Israel activists have mobilized from around the country to defeat a lawmaker who crossed some line regarding Israel" (p. 269)

- "Defeating [Sen. Charles] Percy for re-election in 1984 became virtually a national crusade among pro-Israel activists" (p. 270)

All of these things have been reported by the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* and other media, yet they are denied routinely by pro-Israel activists, who dismiss such statements as conspiratorial and anti-Semitic. That Goldberg documents them convincingly, and in context, is useful in itself. It also validates non-Jews who have reported these facts for years. The difference, however, is that Goldberg apparently sees nothing wrong with AIPAC's actions.

Goldberg makes a factual error in reference to a lawsuit brought first against AIPAC in 1988 and later against the US Federal Election Commission's handling of AIPAC by seven retired government

officials, including *Washington Report* publisher Andrew I. Killgore and executive editor Richard H. Curtiss. Goldberg writes on page 268 that the case was "dismissed for lack of evidence." In fact, only the case's complaint against 27 political action committees established and directed by AIPAC was dropped. The remainder of the case against AIPAC resulted in an FEC decision that although AIPAC was functioning as a "political committee," since electioneering was not AIPAC's principle function the FEC would not force it to comply with the disclosure laws that such committees must observe. Subsequently, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled 8-2 on December 6 [1996] that the FEC must enforce its own rules against AIPAC. Rather than having the marathon case against it dismissed, therefore, AIPAC appears to have lost the suit, and may have to open its receipts and expenditures to FEC scrutiny, something AIPAC has vowed never to do.

Media Influence

Another controversial topic Goldberg addresses is Jewish influence in the American media. In chapter 11, entitled "We Have Met the Enemy and It is Us: Jews and the Media," he writes (p. 280):

Jews are represented in the media business in numbers far out of proportion to their share of the population. Studies have shown that while Jews make up little more than five percent of the working press nationwide — hardly more than their share of the population — they make up one fourth or more of the writers, editors, and producers in America's "elite media," including network news divisions, the top news-weeklies and the four leading daily papers (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*)

Goldberg points out, however, that American Jewish activists describe the media as "a major source of anti-Jewish bias" (p. 280). Goldberg devotes the rest of the chapter to reconciling the contradictory themes of pro-Israel and anti-Israel bias, and in so doing provides penetrating insights into the question of Jewish influence in America's media.

"The case for pro-Jewish bias rests largely on the work of a handful of influential writers who regularly take it upon themselves to defend Jews and Israel and to attack their enemies," Goldberg writes (on page 290). The "short list" of those writers, according to Goldberg, includes *New York Times* columnists William Safire and A.M. Rosenthal, and Richard Cohen of *The Washington Post*.

Indicative of their "verbal firepower," according to Goldberg, was a 1993 column by Safire, whom Goldberg describes as "one of the best connected and

most feared members of the Washington press corps," that "sank the nomination of Admiral Bobby Inman as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, largely by accusing Inman of being anti-Israel" (p. 290). Because Goldberg does not elaborate, it is worth quoting two sentences from the February-March 1994 *Washington Report* (p. 28) that fill in the details:

Bill Safire wrote in a column published in *The New York Times* on Dec. 23 that Bobby Ray Inman had restricted information available to Israel from US intelligence agencies, had fingered Israel as the source of the false "Libyan Hit Squad" story that turned the White House and key government agencies into fortified bunkers, and had supplied the information for then Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's stern assessment for the sentencing judge of the extent of damage caused US intelligence agencies and agents by convicted spy Jonathan Jay Pollard. From the moment they read Safire's column, Israel's apologists in the US media knew what to do.

Although the story itself is not new, Goldberg's frank discussion of the power of a Safire column to "sink" a cabinet-level nomination simply by accusing the nominee of hostility to Israel, is both enlightening and frightening. Goldberg makes it clear that this "Jewish power," in his own words, is tangible political power recognized both by those who oppose it and those who wield it

In his discussion of Jews in the media, Goldberg repeatedly refers to Israel's "warts," a peculiar term he uses to describe the country's darker side. In the reviewer's opinion, Goldberg's casual use of the word is subtly misleading. "Warts" are merely cosmetic afflictions, but confiscating Palestinian land, razing Palestinian homes, legalized torture, military attacks against civilian populations, and other examples of systematic brutality by Israelis against their Arab neighbors might more accurately be described as a "cancer" within the body of the young nation.

In the final analysis, Goldberg's *Jewish Power* is both well-written and informative. His thesis is that although the organized American Jewish community has grown extraordinarily powerful, individual US Jews still see their community as weak and ineffective. The examples he provides, and the matter-of-fact tone he adopts to make his points, are more than convincing.

Goldberg devotes the prologue to *Jewish Power* to George Bush's now famous Sept. 12, 1991, speech to the American public urging Congress to postpone granting Israel's request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees. Bush hoped to link them to a moratorium on Jewish settlements in occupied territories

and to Israeli participation in the upcoming Madrid conference. When he came under intense pressure from the pro-Israel lobby and members of Congress to acquiesce to Israel's request immediately and unconditionally, Bush took his case directly to the American people. In an unprecedented speech on national television, he explained: "I heard today there were something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working on the other side of the question," and that he was only "one little guy down here" trying to work against what he described as "some powerful forces."

While Goldberg details the Jewish community's overwhelmingly negative reaction to the president's remarks, he seems curiously oblivious to Bush's supporters, suggesting they are drawn solely from the extremist fringe. "By Monday morning's mail, the president had accumulated a small mound of Jew-bashing congratulations," Goldberg writes, charging that the president inadvertently "had touched an unforeseen chord in the American heartland." What Goldberg neglects to mention in his book, however, is that public opinion polls immediately after Bush's speech showed that 86 percent of the American public supported the president, a reaction hardly confined to the political fringes.

For all of its merits, it is unfortunate that Goldberg's book does not address some cruder exercises of power by some American Jewish leaders. Examples are the often venomous criticism of journalists and others who report serious Israeli abuses of human rights, and the practice of labeling such critics "anti-Semites" if they are not Jewish, and "self-haters" if they are. Such silencing of objective political, journalistic and academic discussion of US support for Israel, and its consequences for American national interests, does not serve freedom of speech in the United States. Nor, in the long run, does it serve the best interests of Israel or the American Jewish community.

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Letters

The Larger Picture

The recent Iraq crisis, with the Clinton administration's zealous campaign to persuade everyone of the need for military action against that Arab country, is helping many Americans better to see the larger picture. I find that people are asking questions and saying things that would have been unthinkable a few years ago. Everywhere, it seems, people are challenging, with increasing fervor, the whole rotten edifice of Zionism and our relationship with Israel, along with the many lies on which they are built.

Although I pray that the Clinton administration does not unleash the full fury of modern high-tech weaponry against the helpless people of Iraq, perhaps such a slaughter might at least help everyone see much more clearly just how beholden our political leaders have become to alien interests.

J.M.
New York City

A Relief

I am an independent scholar, and my main field is 20th-century Germany. Seeking information about the Nazi period, I joined several H-lists [Internet e-mail discussion forums], including H-Holocaust (which is where I found your URL [Internet address]).

I finally quit it, sending a rather acerbic message to the list administrator about calling this a "scholarly" list. Actually, it was nothing but diatribes, *ad hominem* attacks against anyone who dares say anything good about anything German, and so forth. It was really horrible. I began to wonder about the motivation of those who so harshly demand that everyone agree with them or be branded Evil (anti-Semitic), who forever hound and want to punish

the Germans, and, in short, who endlessly promote hatred in a world already full of it — and to what end?

Anyway, I had my fill of that nonsense, and resigned from that revolting list. I also decided to look into what they are so afraid of — that is, your information. Coming across your Web page was a relief! Lo and behold, I find that your information more closely fits with the conclusions I had been reaching through my own research.

For years I had bought into the "official" propaganda line, which requires that one never argue with Jews about Holocaust matters, but instead bow dutifully to all the hatred they promulgate in the name of "How We Suffered." Because of their sufferings half a century ago, they insist on all sorts of exemptions and special privileges. I found it amazing that Germany itself makes revisionism a crime, and even awards prizes and honors to authors (such as Daniel Goldhagen) who spew hatred against Germans.

M.S.
[by Internet]
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

A New Taboo for a New Era

Goldwin Smith's essay, "The Vexing 'Jewish Question,'" [Jan.-Feb. 1998 *Journal*] may strike some readers as astonishing in its frankness. But such forthright writing on this now taboo-laden subject was not at all unusual 80-90 years ago. Until the 1930s, prominent scholars were still relatively free to write candidly of the Jewish role in society.

For example, one contemporary of Smith who expressed similar views on this subject was John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Among other works, this respected histo-

rian was the author of the *Cyclopedia of Universal History* as well as an impressive nine-volume scholarly work, *Ridpath's History of the World*, published in Cincinnati in 1910.

In his *History of the World* (vol. 9, pp. 208-09) Ridpath wrote:

The Jew has become the money lender *par excellence* of the civilized world. Not in one country only, but in all nations, he has discovered the sovereignty of gold, and has availed himself of this knowledge to an extent which is but dimly understood, even by publicists and historians ... His control of the money supply and distribution is hardly any longer disputed in any of the capitals of Europe or America ... The Hebrew has his monarchy. It is the kingdom of gold ... He is the emperor of mankind ...

The monarchy of money is under the almost absolute dominion of the Jewish race.

Since the Second World War, and at least in large part as a consequence of the outcome of that terrible conflict, it has become nearly impossible for "respectable" scholars to write frankly, much less critically, about the enduring problem of relations in society between Jews and non-Jews. Instead, everyone is now more or less obliged to start from the premise that anti-Jewish sentiment is irrational and unrelated to Jewish behavior.

E. Svedlund
Seattle

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A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

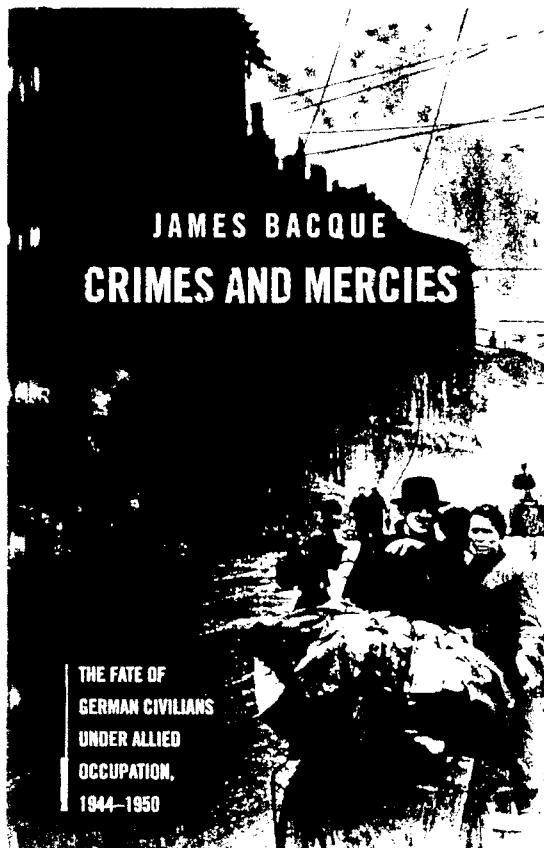
In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

Crimes and Mercies — a handsome hardcover work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.

Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.



Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees*, provides a valuable foreword.

Crimes and Mercies:
The Fate of German Civilians Under
Allied Occupation, 1944-1950
by James Bacque

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The Book 'They' Don't Want You to See!



**Defying an international censorship campaign,
here at last is David Irving's**

Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich

This stunning new biography made headlines around the world in April when one of America's most prominent publishers — succumbing to what the London *Times* called "prolonged protests from Jewish pressure groups" — broke its contract and halted publication. Before it gave in to a vicious campaign that included death threats, St. Martin's Press was praising *Goebbels* as "monumental in scope ... insightful ... draws on masses of previously unpublished materials ... Masterful ... masterpiece of research as well as a compelling story ..."

The *New York Times Book Review* calls this a "Rolls Royce" of a book, "filled with costly color photographs" and written in "lively and compelling" prose.

Now you can enjoy your own copy of Irving's brilliant product of seasoned scholarship and gifted writing. You'll treasure this sumptuous 740-page hardcover masterpiece, with more than a hundred photos, many in full color.

Typical of the grudging praise that *Goebbels* and Irving have been receiving in Britain is the commentary of George Stern in the *Literary Review*:

As with his books on Hitler and Göring, Irving tries to show how events looked to Goebbels. He is the first to use Goebbels' full diary, 75,000 pages, recently found in Moscow. He has interviewed many people, including surviving Nazis, and has used innumerable memoirs and diaries. The result is unique, as though Goebbels had a video recorder on his shoulder... Irving supplies well over a hundred photographs, some as sharp and as colourful as if they were taken yesterday... Irving's trademark research into original manuscripts is uniquely impressive.

In his *Daily Telegraph* review, British historian John Keegan wrote:

David Irving knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War. He discovers archives unknown to official historians and turns their contents into densely footnoted narratives that consistently provoke controversy... His greatest achievement is *Hitler's War*, which has been described as 'the autobiography the Führer did not write' and is indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round. Now he has turned his attention to Joseph Goebbels... The result is a characteristic Irving book: 530 pages of text and 160 pages of relentless references...

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The Journal of Historical Review

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Swiss Court Punishes Revisionists

**Repression of Revisionism
in Switzerland**

**Dissident German
Historian Imprisoned**

**No Evidence for Gas Chambers,
Says French Historian**

Robert Faurisson

Revisionists Meet in Australia

Pope Pius XII and the Jews

Arthur R. Butz

— Review —

Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

Daniel W. Michaels

— And More —

Apocalypse 1945: The Destruction of Dresden

Mass killing and terrorism were the sole objectives of the horrific February 1945 Allied air attack on Dresden, which British diplomat and author Harold Nicolson called "the single greatest holocaust by war."

One of Europe's great cultural and architectural treasures, the undefended German city had no importance as a military target. Winston Churchill chose it as the target for a spectacular "shattering blow" to smash German civilian morale. Some 2,000 British and American bombers took part in the devastating raid on a city packed with hundreds of thousands of women and children fleeing advancing Soviet forces.



Here is the full story — from the perspectives of both perpetrators and victims — of the criminal raid that took the lives of many tens of thousands, the great majority of them civilians.

Originally serialized in the London Sunday Telegraph, this is the best-selling book that launched David Irving's career as a world-renowned historian.

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Prosecutor Threatens Defense Witness

Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists

Author Jürgen Graf Fined, Sentenced to 15 Months in Prison

A court in Switzerland has punished 47-year-old teacher Jürgen Graf and 78-year-old retired engineer Gerhard Förster with fines and prison terms for writing or publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books.

A district court in the northern Swiss town of Baden on July 21 sentenced Graf, a leading Holocaust revisionist, to 15 months imprisonment for writing several dissident works on the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews, and Förster to 12 months in prison for publishing several allegedly anti-Jewish books, including two by Graf. In addition, each was fined 8,000 Swiss francs (\$5,500). The court also ordered the two Swiss citizens to turn over 55,000 francs (about \$38,000) earned from book sales, with Förster to pay 45,000 and Graf 10,000.

Graf must also pay 1,000 francs to a Basel theology professor as compensation or atonement for having mailed him a copy of one of his books with an allegedly offensive inscription. The court also ordered the confiscation and destruction of a long list of books and booklets. As a consequence of his conviction and sentencing, Graf was fired in early August from his position as a teacher at a private school.

With the verdict now on appeal, Graf and Förster are still free men. It's unlikely that the appeals court will consider the case before January 1999, and even if it upholds the verdict, the case may still go to Switzerland's highest court (*Bundesgericht*).

The Graf/Förster case is by far the most important so far on the basis of Switzerland's new "Anti-Racism Law," which came into effect on January 1, 1995. During the one-day trial, held on July 16, Graf eloquently defended his skeptical views on the Holocaust story. Similarly, each of the two defense attorneys ably represented his client with vigor, skill and intelligence.

The Baden court found that Graf had violated the law as the author of four books, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), *Der Holocaust Schwindel* ("The Holocaust Swindle"), *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* ("Auschwitz: Confessions and Witnesses of the Holocaust"), and *Todes-*

ursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung ("Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research"), as well as a booklet, *Das Rotbuch: Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit* ("The Red Book: On the Decline of Swiss Freedom").

Graf was further found guilty of having mailed computer diskettes containing several of his "racist" texts to Ahmed Rami in Sweden and to Ernst Zündel in Canada, who then posted them on the Internet.

Förster was found guilty of having published allegedly anti-Jewish writings by Graf and two other authors.

In explaining the court's severe punishment, Presiding Judge Andrea Staubli cited the defendants' "remarkable criminal energy," and said that their lack of remorse contributed to the decision not to hand down suspended sentences. The five members of the court, three women and two men, were unanimous in their verdict.

Judge Andrea Staubli rejected defendants' arguments that the "criminal" books were scholarly: she characterized them as cynical and inhuman. The court also rejected the argument that Graf should not be punished for at least one of the "offending" books because it was written before January 1, 1995, when the law under which they were being tried came into effect.

As the trial began at eight o'clock on the morning of July 16, all 60 seats in the court room were already occupied, mostly by supporters of Graf and Förster. Some of the sympathizers had traveled from French-speaking western Switzerland, and even from outside the country.

Graf's court-appointed defense attorney, Dr. Urs Oswald, lost no time in calling on the court to quash the case because law under which the defendants had been brought to trial violated the European Human Rights Convention. Even the defense attorneys in this case, he pointed out, risked being punished if they try to show to the court that their clients' views are based on fact. As expected, the court rejected Oswald's motion.

He then asked the court to permit testimony on behalf of the defendants by two witnesses: well-known French revisionist scholar Dr. Robert Faurisson, and Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich. The

court rejected Dr. Faurisson (perhaps because the court and the prosecutor were familiar with him), but agreed to permit Fröhlich to testify (perhaps because they were not familiar with him).

Engineer Fröhlich's Testimony

In his brief introductory remarks to the court, Wolfgang Fröhlich noted that his special fields of expertise are process engineering and gas applications. He told the court that he has carried out numerous gassings to exterminate pests and infectious microbes.

Presiding Judge Staubli warned Fröhlich that any false testimony would be punished with imprisonment. She then asked the engineer if, in his opinion, Graf's books were scholarly in character. Fröhlich replied that he is not able to judge their scholarship as works of history, because he is not a historian. However, with respect to their treatments of technical aspects of the alleged mass exterminations, he affirmed that Graf's statements are absolutely sound.

At this point, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten asked the presiding judge to once again remind Fröhlich of his obligation to provide truthful testimony. She did so, and thereafter the following exchange took place (as recorded verbatim by persons attending the trial):

Aufdenblatten: "In your opinion were mass gassings with Zyklon B technically possible?"

Fröhlich: "No."

Aufdenblatten: "Why not?"

Fröhlich: "The pesticide Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a granular-shaped carrier substance. It is released through contact with the air. The evaporation point of hydrocyanic acid is 25.7 degrees [Celsius]. The higher the temperature, the more rapid is the rate of evaporation. The delousing chambers in which Zyklon B was used in NS [German wartime] camps and elsewhere were heated to 30 degrees and higher, so that the hydrocyanic acid would be released rapidly from the carrier granules. However, in the half-underground mortuaries of the Auschwitz-Birkenau crematories, where witnesses claim that mass killings with Zyklon B took place, the temperatures were very much lower. Even if one allows for the warming of the spaces by the body warmth of the hypothetical prisoners, the temperature would not have been more than 15 degrees, even in summer time. Consequently, it would have taken many hours for



Jürgen Graf addresses the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

the hydrocyanic acid to evaporate.

"According to eyewitness reports, the victims died very quickly. The witnesses mention time frames of 'instantaneous' to '15 minutes.' To be able to kill the gas chamber prisoners in such a short time, the Germans would have had to use ridiculously large amounts of Zyklon — I estimate from 40 to 50 kilograms for each gassing. This would have made any work in the gas chamber fundamentally impossible. The special detachment [Sonderkommando] people, whom the witnesses say were assigned the task of clearing out [dead bodies] from them [the gas chambers], would have collapsed immediately upon entering the rooms, even if they were wearing gas masks. Enormous amounts of hydrocyanic acid would have streamed out into the open, and would have poisoned the entire camp."

Fröhlich's statement, which was greeted with applause by many of those in the court room, is entirely in keeping with findings of other specialists. His testimony strengthens and corroborates the investigations and declarations of such specialists as American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, American research chemist William B. Lindsay, German chemist Gerhard Rudolf, and German engineer Wolfgang

Schuster. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, esp. pp. 391-420, 427, 428.)

Intimidation

Immediately following Fröhlich's statement, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten said: "I hereby ask the court to bring charges against you for racial discrimination, on the basis of Article 261 [the Anti-Racism Law] or otherwise I'll do it myself."

At this point Förster's defense attorney, Jürg Stehrenberger, arose to inform the court that in view of this intolerable intimidation of the witness, he would withdraw from the case. Together with Graf's attorney, he left the courtroom for several minutes. When they returned, the two attorneys expressed their vehement objection to the prosecutor's behavior, but announced that they would nevertheless continue their duties as defense attorneys.

In threatening punitive legal action against the witness, the prosecutor not only revealed his lack of regard for truth or justice, but himself committed the punishable offense of attempting to intimidate a witness.

Förster's Testimony

Co-defendant Gerhard Förster, 78 years old, suffers from osteoperosis and other illnesses. He is in such poor health that he had to be brought into the courtroom in a wheel chair. He was born in Silesia, Germany, and served briefly during the Second World War as a private in the regular German army. His father perished, along with some two million others, in the genocidal flight and expulsion of some 12-14 million ethnic Germans from central and eastern Europe, 1944-1946.

Gerhard Förster moved from Germany to Switzerland in 1967, and has been a Swiss citizen for many years. He is a certified electrical engineer who holds several dozen patents. He is a widower.

With an obviously deficient memory, the elderly man easily became confused as he testified, mixed up dates, and was unable to answer some questions clearly. All the same, he did acknowledge to the court his role as business director of the Neue Visionen Verlag (Postfach, 5436 Würenlos, Switzerland), which published three of Graf's allegedly dangerous books.

Graf's Testimony

The contrast between the testimony of Förster and Graf could hardly have been more striking. Unlike Förster, Jürgen Graf was energetic, articulate and unrepentant in defending the views and arguments presented in his books. His testimony, including cross examination, lasted well over two hours.

Although presiding judge Staubli repeatedly asked Graf to speak more slowly or to shorten his responses, she did permit him to present his views and fully develop his arguments. She also kept the proceedings focused on the critical issues at dispute, and away from such extraneous matters as the defendants' political views.

In response to judge Staubli's question as to whether there had actually been a Holocaust or not, Graf said:

"It's a question of definition. If, by 'Holocaust,' you mean a brutal persecution of the Jews, mass deportations to camps, and the deaths of very many Jews by disease, exhaustion and malnutrition, then this is of course a historical fact. But the Greek term 'holocaust' means 'completely burned' or 'fire sacrifice,' and is used by orthodox historians for the alleged mass gassing and incineration of Jews in 'extermination camps.' That is a myth."

Staubli: "Do you consider yourself a revisionist? What does that expression mean?"

Graf: "Yes, I consider myself a revisionist. In general, the term is applied to historians who subject the official historical account to critical examination. Holocaust revisionism, which is what we are concerned with here, contests three central points: first, the existence of a plan for the physical extermination of the Jews; second, the existence of extermination camps and execution gas chambers; and, third, the figure of five to six million Jewish victims. We cannot know the exact number of victims because the documentation is inadequate. Personally, I estimate probably one million."

Staubli: "Are you a trained historian?"

Graf: "No. But I draw your attention to the fact that both of the most renowned representatives of orthodox 'Holocaust' literature, the Jews Gerald Reitlinger and Raul Hilberg, likewise are not (or were not) trained historians. Reitlinger was a specialist of art history, and Hilberg is a jurist [actually, a political scientist]. The Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac, who is praised in the media as one who has discredited revisionism, is a pharmacist. If an art historian, a jurist and a pharmacist has the right to express his views on the Holocaust, certainly a philologist has the same right."

Staubli: "What is your motive for writing such [revisionist] books?"

Graf: "My main motive is not to defend the German people, even though I like the Germans. My main motive is a love of the truth. I can't stand lying."

Staubli: "How do you define the term 'scholarship'?"

Graf: "The characteristic feature of scholarship is that all counter arguments are first taken into account and tested before one formulates his own thesis. Revisionists do that."

Staubli: "Would you characterize your own books as scholarly?"

Graf: "I would divide them into three categories. 'Auschwitz: Confessions and Witnesses of the Holocaust,' as well as the book on Majdanek I wrote together with Mattogno, which will be published soon, are scholarly books. 'The Holocaust Swindle' and 'The Holocaust on the Test Stand' I would call popular-scholarly. In these books, I do not so much present my own findings, but for the most part present the findings of revisionists in general. And, finally, 'Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research' is quite simply a novel, and as such is of course not scholarly."

Staubli: "What induced you to write your Auschwitz book?"

Graf: "For the alleged mass gassings in Auschwitz there is neither solid evidence nor documentation, only witness testimony. I got the idea to compile, cite, and analyze the most important of these witness accounts ..."

Staubli: "Do you consider that witness testimony is not credible?"

Graf: "Yes. Let us assume that three witnesses describe an alleged automobile accident. The first testifies that the car left the road, caught fire, and exploded. The second witness states that the car collided with another oncoming car. The third claims that the car was crossing over a bridge that collapsed, throwing the car into the river. What would you make of that? And what would you think if no auto wreck was to be seen anywhere nearby [the site of the alleged accident], and that there was no river or bridge?"

"The eyewitness testimonies of gassings contradict each other on every conceivable point.

And when they do agree, they always contain the same impossibilities that rob them of all credibility. For example, many witnesses testify that three bodies were incinerated in a single oven in 15 minutes. In fact, the capacity is one body per oven per hour. The number cited by the witnesses is therefore exaggerated by a factor of twelve ..."

Staubli: "In the introduction to your Auschwitz book you write that there is no documentary proof for the extermination of Jews in the camps. Do you stand by this testimony?"

Graf: "Of course. The anti-revisionist French historian Jacques Baynac wrote in [the Swiss newspaper] *Nouveau Quotidien* of September 3, 1996, that a lack of evidence makes it impossible to prove the existence of the gas chambers. In 1995 Mattogno and I spent nearly two months in two Moscow archives, where we perused 88,000 pages of Auschwitz documents and thousands of pages of documents from other camps. Not one single document provides proof of the gassing of a single Jew. This did not surprise us, because if such documents existed, the Communists would have triumphantly displayed them to the world in 1945. But no, the documents vanished for 46 years and have only been accessible to researchers since 1991. Why?"

"The German documents show very clearly what the National Socialist Jewish policy called for. They wanted to get the Jews out of Europe and, during the war, to exploit their labor."

Staubli: "You write in 'The Holocaust Swindle' that 'after the war the Jews were still there.' What do you mean by that?"

Graf: "I mean that most of the Jews in the area controlled by Germany survived. Rolf Bloch, President of the Holocaust Fund, said in the *Handelszeitung* of February 4, 1998, that there are still more than a million Holocaust survivors alive today. Any insurance statistician can calculate for you that in the Spring of 1945 there must have been more than three million alive. As Walter Sanning proved in his study *The Dissolution [of Eastern European Jewry]*, published in 1983 and based almost exclusively on Jewish sources, that at the most four million Jews lived in the area under German control at its greatest extent. Of these, as we have shown, more than three million survived. How can

anyone arrive at a figure of six million victims?

Staubli: "Can't you imagine that Jews feel offended by your books?"

Graf: "Yes, and many non-Jews as well. The brain-washing has been so thorough that anyone who inadvertently stumbles upon the truth would be completely upset."

Staubli: "And don't you care if Jews feel offended by your books?"

Graf: "Edgar Bronfman said recently that Switzerland is like a man who has to have his feet held in the fire before he sees reason. Can't you imagine that a Swiss person would feel offended by that? Why is it that only Jewish feelings are taken into account, and never the feelings of non-Jews?"

Staubli: "The Anti-Racism Law was affirmed through a democratic referendum. Shouldn't you respect that?"

Graf: "At the time the people were led to believe that the law serves to protect foreigners against racist violence. In reality it serves exclusively to protect Jews against all criticism. This is irrefutably proven in the booklet *Abschied vom Rechtsstaat* ('Departure from the State of Law'), to which I contributed two short essays. So far not a single Swiss citizen has been indicted or convicted because he criticized a black man, an Arab, or a Turk. Only persons who have criticized Jews have been indicted and convicted."

Staubli: "Did the action you depicted in 'Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research,' the discussion in a German secondary school class, really take place?"

Graf: "The action was, of course, invented."

Staubli: "But in your introduction you represent it as if it actually took place."

Graf: "That's a familiar old literary ploy. Many authors of novels write that they have discovered an old manuscript or found a message in a bottle."

Staubli: "In this book the pupil Marietta says that if the Germans had had more Zyklon available, fewer prisoners would have died. Justify that statement!"

Graf: "The main reason for the extremely high mortality in Auschwitz was typhus, which is carried by lice. In late Summer 1942 this pestilence accounted for 403 deaths on a single day. The documents show that the Germans repeatedly requested Zyklon B to eliminate the lice, because the supplies were inadequate. Thus, Marietta's statement is nothing less than a provable historical fact. Incidentally, I bring your attention to the fact that during the war Zyklon B was also delivered to Switzerland, Norway and Finland. Does that mean that Jews were gassed in those countries as well?"

Staubli: "In the booklet [Rotbuch] 'On the Decline of Swiss Freedom' you write that the Holocaust has become a religion for the Jews. Do you want to comment on that?"

Graf: "It is estimated that today one in three Jews no longer believes in God, but they all believe in the gas chambers. Belief in the Holocaust is today the glue that holds the Jews together."

Staubli: "In the same booklet is the sentence: 'The march toward a police state has begun.' Why do you speak of a march toward a police state?"

Graf: "If a total police state already existed, I would be in jail or dead, and would be unable to speak freely here today. We still are able to protest. If things develop as they are now going, in five years we will no longer have that possibility."

Graf characterized the legal proceeding against Förster and himself as a "classic political trial." The defendants are on trial here not because of anything they've done, but rather because of their opinions. The suppression of dissident opinions through the penal code, he said, is the classic feature of a dictatorship.

The Prosecutor Sums Up

In his concluding address to the court, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten did not even try to establish a connection between the incriminating passages in the books published by Förster and the wording of Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law. Instead, he resorted to emotion-charged phrases such as "pseudo-scholarly," "anti-semitic incitement," and "racist propaganda." Because Graf is highly intelligent, the prosecutor went on, he is doubly dangerous. Graf was not seeking the truth, but rather consciously distorting it. His writings fanned the

flames of anti-Semitism and hatred of foreigners.

Because Graf showed no remorse, and even reaffirmed his revisionist views before the court, the prosecutor said, he is not likely to mend his ways. Therefore the court should not consider handing down a suspended sentence against him. The same is true of Förster, the prosecutor went on, who has been just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health is no reason to be lenient. If he's too ill to actually serve a prison term, that's something for a physician to decide, not the court.

Förster's Attorney Speaks

In his concluding address to the court, Förster's attorney Jürg Stehrenberger spoke quickly and with conviction. He began by emphasizing the special difficulties involved in defending his client in this case, noting that by merely discussing the testimonies of the defendants and the defense witness he runs the risk of himself violating Swiss law.

The Court was not competent to judge what happened 50 years ago, he continued, but only what one writes today. The Anti-Racism Law violates basic constitutional rights, such as the freedom to express one's opinion, freedom of scholarship, and freedom of the press. Moreover, and as even recognized legal specialists have acknowledged, this new law is vaguely or imprecisely worded. And when there is such ambiguity, the court must give the benefit of the doubt to the defendant, and find on his behalf.

The Anti-Racism Law, Stehrenberger continued, specifically states that to violate this law one must "systematically disparage or slander members of a race, ethnic group, or religion." But no such systematic disparagement is to be found in the books written by Graf or published by Förster.

The Anti-Racism Law specifically refers to "denial" of genocide. However, to deny means to contest against one's better knowledge. Therefore, said Stehrenberger, a person who "denies" genocide out of sincere conviction, even if this conviction is subjective, should not be punished, as even a well-recognized legal specialist has acknowledged.

The law's notion of "flagrant whitewashing" or "gross trivializing" ("gröblich verharmlost") poses additional difficulties, Stehrenberger continued. As an authoritative specialist on the criminal code has commented, human suffering cannot be measured, and therefore the number of victims is essentially irrelevant in determining the crime of genocide. Today, however, anyone who estimates the number of Holocaust victims lower than the commonly accepted Six Million figure is subject to criminal prosecution. There is an inherent contradiction here.

As Stehrenberger noted, anti-revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac estimated in the 1994

German edition of his book on "The Crematories of Auschwitz" that the total number of Jewish victims at Auschwitz was between 630,000 and 710,000. (See R. Faurisson's commentary in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, p. 24.) On this basis, even a prominent anti-revisionist such as Pressac could conceivably be prosecuted under Swiss law for "whitewashing" genocide.

Because of the highly-publicized campaign currently being carried out by Jewish organizations against Switzerland and Swiss banks, Stehrenberger further noted, there is considerable public interest in determining just what Swiss officials knew, and did not know, during the Second World War about the fate of the Jews under German control.

In this regard, he spoke of the inspection visit to the Auschwitz concentration camp by Rossel and other delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on September 29, 1944. How does one explain, he asked, that in their report on this visit, the ICRC delegation stated that they found no confirmation of the rumors of human gassings, and that the prisoners questioned did not mention them? (See *Documents relating to the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the benefit of civilian detainees in German Concentration Camps between 1939 and 1945* [Geneva: ICRC, 1975], pp. 76-77. French-language ed., Geneva, June 1946, p. 92.)

No one, Stehrenberger pointed out, not even the public prosecutor, has ever claimed that Graf either falsely cited or translated any of the eyewitness testimonies dealt with in his "Auschwitz: Confessions" book. Furthermore, he pointed out, in October 1994 Förster specifically provided the Swiss Federal Prosecutor's Office with a copy of this book. It is simply incomprehensible, Stehrenberger went on, that if this book was really "criminal," this agency did not react to it, in spite of numerous queries, and six months later declared itself unable to determine if this book is legal or not. In any case, this shows that the Federal Prosecutor's office itself, at least initially, did not regard this book as violating the law.

Stehrenberger went on note that the public prosecutor had dismissed Graf's book out of hand, and without good reason, as "pseudo-scholarly." This is simply unacceptable. In the case of Graf's fictional work, "Cause of Death," the imaginary school class referred to numerous historical works, with the sources always clearly cited. To have included such source references in a fictional literary work on a topic of contemporary history is not offensive.

Stehrenberger also told the court that his client has already been tried and found guilty by the media. During the Second World War Gerhard Förster served for just six weeks on the front as a

Wehrmacht private, but the Swiss press promoted him to the rank of SS officer, and repeatedly castigated him as a "Nazi." Because of his German origin, he was considered free game for bigoted "anti-racists."

Stehrenberger concluded by asking the court to exonerate and acquit his client.

Graf's Attorney Sums Up

In his concluding address to the court, Graf's attorney spoke for more than an hour. Dr. Oswald repeatedly assailed the public prosecutor's arguments, and rejected the indictment as carelessly drawn up and completely indefensible.

For one thing, said Oswald, the books by Graf that were written before the Anti-Racism Law came into effect on January 1, 1995, should never have been the subject of an indictment at all. For this reason he hadn't even bothered to deal with the contents of these writings. Graf's "Auschwitz" book, for example, was indisputably written in May 1994 and published in August of the same year. To prosecute someone for books that were written before the law under which he is indicted even came into effect is a violation of the ancient legal principle of *Nulla poena sine lege*, "without a law, no crime." (This principle is also expressed in the American constitutional prohibition against "ex post facto" laws.)

Neither the prosecutor nor anyone else has ever claimed that Graf himself had marketed his "Auschwitz" book. The prosecutor's argument that Graf was liable because he had not forbidden the book's distribution after January 1, 1995, but had expressly agreed to its further distribution, is pathetic and violates basic legal norms.

Even the fact that Graf had continued to sell his two earliest books after the Anti-Racism Law went into effect is not punishable because he had not violated the law's stricture against "public" distribution. Graf had not advertised his books, nor had he distributed them to libraries, where they would have been available to the general public, but rather had sent them only to persons who had specifically ordered them. How, therefore, can anyone speak of the "public" in this case? According to prevailing legal norms, even a closed circle of friends is not considered the general "public," much less a few individuals.

While it is true that Graf's booklet, "On the Decline of Swiss Freedom," was written after the Anti-Racism Law came into effect, the allegedly incriminating passages in this work were taken from his "Auschwitz" book, and were cited by him there in response to critics.

Oswald acknowledged that Graf had sent diskettes containing his revisionist writings to Ahmed Rami in Sweden and Ernst Zündel in Canada, who

then posted the texts on the Internet. But this is also not a crime, because the "scene of the crime" in this case was not in Switzerland. Graf's texts have been posted on the Internet in Canada, the United States, and Sweden, where there are no laws against revisionism.

Because any Internet text can be called up in any country, to be consistent with the prosecutor's view of the world every text posted on the Internet would have to conform to the laws of every country in the world. Anyway, Oswald told the court, the provider and not the author should be held legally responsible for deciding which of the texts to post that he may have received.

Graf's motive, Oswald went on, has not been to disparage Jews, but rather to pursue the truth. The prosecuting attorney claims the opposite, without however providing any proof. He made no effort whatsoever to substantiate his accusation of "pseudo-scholarship."

For all these reasons, Oswald summed up, Graf should be acquitted on all counts.

Dr. Oswald's concluding address was received with warm appreciation by the courtroom's sympathetic majority, just as the concluding statement by Förster's attorney had been.

Graf's Concluding Statement

Presiding Judge Staubli offered defendant Graf ten minutes in which to make a final statement, on condition that he limit himself to discussing issues of the trial itself. After agreeing to this, Graf said the following:

Honorable Madame Presiding Judge, distinguished members of the Court, ladies and gentlemen:

First, permit me two preliminary remarks. I want to thank you, Madame Presiding Judge, for the fair manner and way you have conducted this trial. You've permitted me to speak without hindrance and to defend my theses, and for that I am grateful. I [also] thank my attorney Dr. Oswald for his outstanding [final] address ...

This morning an eminently qualified engineer — a specialist in constructing gas chambers for pest control and for exterminating microbes — testified as a witness for the defense. Wolfgang Fröhlich was explicitly instructed on his duty to testify truthfully, and he acknowledged this responsibility. Public prosecutor Aufdenblatten asked him if mass killings of human beings by means of Zyklon B in gas chambers, as has been described by witnesses, were possible, and if not, why not. On the basis of his profound technical knowledge,

and faithful to his duty to provide truthful testimony, Fröhlich answered "no" to the question, and he then substantiated his response.

And how did the public prosecutor respond? He proposed criminal charges against him. That, ladies and gentlemen, is pure Stalinism! I know that this is a serious accusation, but I stand by it. As much as you, Madame Presiding Judge, have striven for a fair trial, the public prosecutor has not.

Permit me to say a few words about myself, although I don't like to focus attention on myself. I have knowingly exchanged a secure and well paid position in a state school for an uncertain future. From the outset, I've anticipated facing a trial. I'm surprised that it's taken this long. And then the public prosecutor presumes to read my mind, claiming that I don't really seek the truth, but rather lies. Do you believe that anyone would willingly risk ruining his career for an obvious lie?

We revisionists try hard to get as close to the historical truth as we can. We like nothing more than to have our mistakes pointed out to us. Indeed, there are some mistakes in my books. But do you know who brought them to my attention? Other revisionists! From the other side the only reactions have been insults, smears, threats, legal actions, and trials.

Their absolute helplessness in the face of revisionist arguments was just as glaringly obvious in the statements of the public prosecutor... Not a single argument, but rather only phrases such as "pseudo-scholarship," "anti-Semitism," "racist incitement," and so forth.

[Jewish community leader] Sigi Feigel and his people want to put Förster and me behind bars, and to ban our books. I don't want Sigi Feigel locked up, and if he should manage one day to write a book, I wouldn't want it banned. I invite Mr. Feigel ... or any other representative of the official Holocaust school, to a factual, non-polemical, open discussion of this issue on radio or television. The two major topics of this discussion would be the question of the existence of gas chambers and the number of Jewish victims of National Socialist policies.

As far back as any human being can remember, no Swiss man or women has been imprisoned for the non-violent expression of his or her opinion. The last such case was early in the last century. Do you, ladies and gentlemen of the court, at the dawn of the 21st century, want to break this tradition? And if you insist on jailing one of us, then please lock me up and not Mr. Förster, who is deathly ill!

You would not shame me by imprisoning me.

By doing so, you would shame our country, Switzerland. A Switzerland in which freedom of expression is being abolished, a Switzerland in which a minority of 0.6 percent of the population is permitted to decide who reads, writes, says or thinks what, is dead.

I would like to close my comments by citing my friend in western Switzerland, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, against whom a trial is being prepared in Lausanne that is similar to the one here today against Förster and me. In issue number 371 of his *Courrier du Continent* newsletter, Amaudruz writes: "As once in early historical times, it is sign of weakness to try to impose a dogma by force. The exterminationists may win trials through laws that muzzle freedom of speech. But they will lose the final trial before the court of future generations.

A Courageous and Able Scholar

Jürgen Graf says that he was not surprised by the court's harsh verdict. Last year, in fact, he had predicted that he and Förster would be found guilty and sentenced.

As one of the most internationally prominent revisionist scholars, Graf has been targeted by Jewish organizations for several years now as a particularly notorious "Holocaust denier." In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book, "The Holocaust on the Test Stand," he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See "Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.)

Graf, born in 1951, is a meticulous scholar and researcher with an impressive command of languages, including Russian, modern Greek, Mandarin Chinese, and the Scandinavian languages. He makes his home near Basel.

His "Holocaust on the Test Stand" book has appeared in French, Spanish, Dutch, Bulgarian, Italian and Arabic editions. In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title "The Myth of the Holocaust." (See "A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.)

Through the Internet "world wide web," a number of Graf's writings are accessible to millions around the world.

Graf has worked together with other revisionist scholars, including Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno. Graf and Mattogno have made four research visits together to Russia, eastern Europe and the Netherlands, including detailed investiga-

tion of documents in Moscow archives. (See the report in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.)

Graf spoke at the Twelfth Conference of the Institute for Historical Review Conference, held in southern California in September 1994. (An adaptation of his address was published in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-11.) He is also a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. (See the May-June 1997 *Journal*, p. 20)

Lessons

One journalist who closely followed the Graf/Förster trial and who is familiar with the Middle East expressed the view that the Swiss court had conducted itself much like an Israeli military tribunal judging Palestinians. The prison sentences imposed against Graf and Förster are all the more shameful and ominous because they were handed down in a country with a traditionally high regard for freedom. Commenting on the severity of the sentences, one American writer quipped: "It's lucky that Switzerland is a country with freedom of speech. Imagine how harsh the sentences would be if it wasn't."

Tellingly, no influential American newspaper or magazine has expressed even a word of criticism of the Graf/Förster verdicts or, for that matter, of any of the numerous legal persecutions of revisionists in western Europe. Perhaps this silence betrays embarrassment over the obvious injustice of this assault against free speech and freedom of research.

In a front-page commentary on the Graf/Förster case that reflects "official" opinion the Alpine confederation these days, the daily *Tages-Anzeiger* (July 22) warned that the defendants are not as harmless as they appear. In an effort to justify the verdicts, the large-circulation Swiss paper went on to tell readers:

Holocaust deniers, with their unspeakable theories, injure the human dignity of the Jews, the memory of the victims, and their history... Their goal is to stir up hatred against the Jews, and their hidden motive is to whitewash the National Socialists and make their dangerous ideology once again acceptable.

One might just as easily argue, and with greater justification, something like the following:

Jewish-Zionist apologists, with their unspeakable theories, injure the human dignity of non-Jews, and especially Palestinians and Germans, the memory of Israel's victims, and their history... Their goal is to promote an arrogant contempt for non-Jews, and their hidden motive is to whitewash the Zionists and make

their dangerous ideology acceptable.

The plain reality is that in Western society today, Jewish interests and sensitivities are treated, both legally and socially, as more important than those of any other group. This special, superior status is codified in Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law, in similar laws in other European countries, and in the United States' "special relationship" with Israel.

The legal persecution of "Holocaust deniers," as well as the intense, and enormously successful, international Jewish campaign of pressure and blackmail to squeeze money from Switzerland and others countries for their supposed transgressions during the Second World War, clearly reflect immense Jewish power and influence.

The Graf/Förster case, and the legal persecution of "Holocaust deniers" in western Europe generally, point up the important quasi-religious role that the Holocaust story has come to play in contemporary Western society. Accordingly, "Holocaust blasphemy" is treated, and punished, as the most serious "thought crime."

Even if only quietly, resentment and opposition to this obvious injustice is growing. For this reason, it's not surprising that Switzerland's respected weekly paper *Weltwoche* expresses concern (July 23) that the Graf/Förster trial, and others like it, are actually likely to promote even more anti-Jewish sentiment. The supposedly anti-Jewish passages in Graf's books, the weekly paper notes, are "harmless compared to what's being said [across Switzerland] these days, not only in bars and coffee shops, but even in theater lobbies."

— September 6, 1998

Democracy and War

"War, which used to be cruel and magnificent, has now become cruel and squalid. It has all been the fault of democracy and science. From the moment that either of these meddlers and muddlers was allowed to take part in actual fighting, the doom of War was sealed. Instead of a small number of well-trained professionals championing their country's cause with ancient weapons and a beautiful intricacy of archaic movement, we now have entire populations, including even women and children, pitted against each other in brutish extermination, and only a set of blear-eyed clerks left to add up the butcher's bill. From the moment when Democracy was admitted to, or rather forced itself upon, the battlefield, War ceased to be a Gentleman's pursuit."

— Winston Churchill, *My Early Life*, 1930

Holocaust Skeptics Under Growing Attack in Switzerland

Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster are by no means the first persons in Switzerland to be attacked or punished for their revisionist views. They certainly won't be the last. Indeed, it appears that during the past year Swiss authorities have been cracking down on dissidents with noticeably greater severity.

In 1986 a teacher in Lausanne, Mariette Paschoud, was dismissed from her teaching position following a media smear campaign because she had expressed skeptical views on the Holocaust issue. More recently, because she had asked for a single piece of proof for the existence of gas chambers, Switzerland's highest court solemnly declared in May 1995 that Paschoud disputes "the most serious crime of the National Socialist regime, namely the systematic gassing of Jews in gas chambers."

In November 1986 the Geneva police chief forbid two French revisionists — writer and publisher Pierre Guillaume and author Henri Roques — to hold a news conference in the Swiss city. The two were also banned from speaking publicly in Switzerland for three years.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Dr. Max Wahl, a retired Swiss jurist, came under repeated attack from pressure groups and some of the media for his punchy nationalist and pro-revisionist newsletter, *Eidgenoss*. In October 1991, a Munich court fined him 25,200 marks (about \$17,890) for the newsletter. (After 18 years of publication, he closed it down in early 1995.)

In January 1993, Bernhard Schaub (a father of two) was fired without notice from his position as a teacher of history and German at a private school in Zurich because he had expressed doubts about wartime "gassings" of Jews in a book he had written. His 1992 history of German-speaking central Europe, *Adler und Rose*, had also prompted the usual media smears. (See Schaub's essay, "Switzerland in the Grip of the 'Traditional Enemy,'" in the July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-35.)

The first Swiss citizen to be brought before a court for expressing revisionist views was Arthur Vogt, an 80-year-old retired secondary school teacher. The country's first Holocaust revisionism trial was held on May 31, 1997, in the district court of Meilen. A few days later, on June 3, 1997, the court declared Vogt guilty of "racially discriminatory propaganda and repeated racial discrimination," and fined him 20,000 francs (about \$15,000). Specifically, he had broken the law by mailing copies



Arthur Vogt, a retired educator, is the first person to be punished by a Swiss court for expressing dissident views on the Holocaust issue. Here at the 1994 IHR Conference he speaks with Mark Weber about revisionist work in Europe.

of Graf's "Cause of Death" book to seven acquaintances in Germany, and had mailed out copies of a newsletter that included Holocaust revisionist essays he had written.

In December 1997 publisher Aldo Ferraglia, an Italian citizen, was tried by a court in Vevey for having distributed several revisionist titles, including the anti-Zionist book of French scholar Roger Garaudy, *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne*. Ferraglia was sentenced to four months imprisonment, and ordered to pay 28,000 francs "atonement" to three Jewish organizations, as well as to pay court costs of 15,075 francs. The court took care to note that the country's new Anti-Racism Law "does not prohibit opinions, but rather only their public expression." The country's leading daily newspaper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, devoted not a single word to the Ferraglia trial.

In Zurich the district prosecuting attorney's office has recently asked for an eight month prison sentence against revisionist Andreas J. W. Studer.

Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, a retired foreign language teacher who lives in western Switzerland, has recently been indicted for having circulated revisionist books, and for essays in two issues of his

mimeographed newsletter. Born in 1920, Amaudruz has published *Courrier du Continent* (BP 2428, 1002 Lausanne) since 1946. It has about 500 subscribers, many of them outside the country.

In recent weeks the Swiss Federal Police has been struggling to combat "racism" on the Internet. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reports (July 31) that the effort has been hampered by the technical difficulties inherent in the freewheeling Internet system as well as by legal uncertainties. For one thing, nearly all of the alleged 700 "racist and right wing" Internet web sites are outside of Switzerland, many of them in the United States.

On August 19, 1998, Swiss police arrested and jailed Ernst Indelkofer, publisher of *Recht + Freiheit* ("Justice and Freedom"), a magazine with nearly 4,000 subscribers that has supported freedom of speech for revisionists. On September 18, 1997, the Basel city criminal court handed down a fine of 3,000 francs (as well as a three month prison sentence, which was suspended) against Indelkofer because he had included revisionist passages in three issues of *Recht + Freiheit*. After two weeks in jail, he was released on September 2, 1998.

Among the "offending" passages cited by the court were such banal sentences as the following: "A photograph of corpses [as taken in the just-liberated German camps] actually proves nothing about the time it was taken, nor how it came to be taken, or about the ethnicity [of the victims shown]." Similarly objectionable, the court found, was a reference by Indelkofer to an "alleged systematic mass extermination of the Jews." Also offensive, the court declared, was a mention of a North American television broadcast that provided "revisionist (corrective) information about the Auschwitz Holocaust, and which was therefore countered by Jewish circles."

— September 6, 1998

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A Dangerous Guilt Complex

For the Jews the [Holocaust] story has become an indispensable part of their religious heritage, very much like the plight Israel's children had to endure in Egypt or the destruction of the second temple. For non-Jews as well, the Holocaust has gradually been transformed into a religious myth ... Even the slightest criticism of Jews such as Elie Wiesel or Simon Wiesenthal has become taboo: if you criticize a Jew, you're an anti-Semite. Hitler was also an anti-Semite who, as everybody knows, gassed the Jews. So anybody criticizing Jews paves the way to new gas chambers!

As primitive as it is, this kind of argument is remarkably effective. That's what makes the revisionist struggle so exceptionally difficult: not only must we fight an uphill struggle against media censorship, repression and propaganda, but we must also overcome a kind of religious faith. As history shows, refuting religion with rational arguments is not exactly an easy task. But this struggle must be fought, and because the fate of future generations depends on its outcome, we had better win it. The Holocaust lie has poisoned Europeans and other white people of European descent with a guilt complex that threatens to destroy our self-respect and our will to survive.

For all those engaged in this struggle against an enemy with so much clout and virtually unlimited financial resources, the next few years will hardly be devoid of interest. For revisionists, at least, life is not tedious.

— Jürgen Graf at the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Freedom of Expression

"First, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility. Secondly, though the silenced opinion be in error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of the truth, and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied. Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth, unless it is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds. And not only this, but, fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled."

— John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*

Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law

For many years Swiss law has prohibited discrimination on the basis of race or national origin, similar to provisions of the 1964 and 1968 federal "civil rights" laws in the United States. But Switzerland's new "anti-racism" law, which is a revision of Article (Section) 261 of the criminal code (*Strafgesetzbuch*), goes far beyond this. It also criminalizes dissident or revisionist scholarship on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War — that is, it bans Holocaust revisionism.

With the backing of the country's leading political parties, the new law was approved by the lower house of the Swiss parliament in December 1992, and by the upper house in March 1993. In a nationwide referendum on September 25, 1994, it was narrowly ratified by 54.6 percent of those who voted. Half of the country's cantons rejected it.

In effect since January 1, 1995, Switzerland's new Anti-Racism Law reads as follows:

Whoever publicly incites hatred or discrimination against a person or a group of persons on the basis of their race, ethnicity or religion,

or whoever publicly promotes an ideology that systematically disparages or slanders members of a race, ethnic group or religion,

or whoever organizes, supports or participates in a propaganda action with this same goal,

or whoever publicly through word, writing, illustration, gesture, act of violence, or in any other way disparages or discriminates against a person or a group of persons on the basis of their race, ethnicity or religion, in a way that offends their human dignity or, for any one of these reasons, denies, flagrantly whitewashes [*gröblich verharmlost*] or seeks to justify, genocide or other crimes against humanity,

or whoever withholds, on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion, a service or product from a person or a group of persons that is offered to the public at large,

will be punished by [up to three years] imprisonment or a fine.

This law's imprecise or ambiguous wording opens the door to selective, and hence unjust, enforcement. For example, just who or what qualifies as a "racial, ethnic or religious" group? Do the Swiss qualify? Apparently not. In that case, is it therefore legal in Switzerland to disparage or slander the Swiss, but not the Jews?

What constitutes a "crime against humanity"?

Does Israel's repressive treatment of Palestinian Christians and Muslims count? And if so, does the new Anti-Racism Law criminalize writings by Jewish or Zionist historians that "seek to justify" Israel's repression of Palestinians?

What, precisely, is "genocide"? Is it "genocide" if two percent of a group is killed, or must it be 20 or 50 or 70 percent? And apart from the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews, just what historical cruelties qualify as "genocidal"? How about the extermination of various native Palestinian peoples by the ancient Israelites, as related in the Bible (see, for example Deuteronomy 20:16-17 and Joshua 10:26-40)? Or how about the dispossession and slaughter of native Indians of North America?

What precisely is "flagrant whitewashing" (or "gross trivializing") of the Holocaust story? If one estimates the number of Jewish Holocaust victims at four million, is that "whitewashing" or "trivializing"? How about one million? Is it "whitewashing" or "trivializing" to contend that German wartime gas chambers were not as important as historians have been claiming? For example, is Harvard historian Daniel Goldhagen guilty of "whitewashing" for having written in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (p. 523) that "gassing was really epiphenomenal to the Germans' slaughter of Jews."

A particularly ominous feature of the new Anti-Racism Law, as even Switzerland's respected weekly *Weltwoche* acknowledges (July 23), is that under its provisions a witness who testifies in court on behalf of a "Holocaust denier," or an attorney who represents one during a trial, risks indictment, fines and imprisonment for "publicly" expressing revisionist views.

As Jürgen Graf has aptly observed, the threat and intimidation inherent in Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law smacks of the unjust "justice" of Stalinist Russia.

— M.W.

Coming Battle

"America's battle is yet to fight; and we, sorrowful though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it. New Spiritual Pythons, plenty of them, enormous Megatherions, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight Future on America; and she will have her own agony, and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of."

— Thomas Carlyle

Udo Waleny in Prison

Dissident German Historian Punished for Revisionist Writings

Since October 1997, German historian Udo Waleny has been serving a prison sentence for publishing dissident historical writings on the Holocaust issue. Two German courts have found him guilty of the crime of "popular incitement" for items that had appeared in several issues of the "Historical Facts" booklet series he edits and publishes.

On May 17, 1996, the district court in Bielefeld sentenced Waleny to a 15 month prison term (non-suspended), even though he had no previous criminal record. As routinely happens in such cases in Germany, the court refused to consider any of the technical or scholarly evidence offered by Waleny's attorneys. A year later, on May 6, 1997, a court in Herford imposed an additional sentence of 14 months imprisonment (non-suspended).

In addition, in November 1996 the Dortmund district court fined Waleny 20,000 marks for having twelve copies of *Mein Kampf* in his possession. Without a shred of evidence, the court charged that he planned to distribute these copies of Hitler's autobiographical manifesto, which is banned in Germany. The court went on to declare:

... The planned distribution of the books manifests an extreme and therefore particularly dangerous mindset. The books are propaganda for dismantling the constitutional and legal system of the Federal Republic of Germany, and establishing a National Socialist system of injustice ... This must be judged very severely.

A few months earlier, on February 7, 1996, a squad of 20 policemen, some of them armed, raided Waleny's business and residence. Ignoring Germany's "data protection law," they seized office records and computer diskettes, downloaded copies of his computer files, sealed his office safe, and took him away for fingerprinting.

Guilty for What He Didn't Write

Herford court Judge Helmut Knöner found that Waleny had not knowingly published lies, but rather had broken the law by publishing "one-sided" history that did not give sufficient attention to alter-

native interpretations. Judge Knöner declared to Waleny (as reported in the *Westfalenblatt* newspaper, May 8-9, 1997):

This [case] is not about what was written — that's not for this court to determine — but rather about what was not written. If you had devoted just a fraction of the same exactitude to high-lighting the other side [of the Holocaust issue], you would not have been sentenced. However, your total one-sidedness is precisely the opposite of the scholarly method. You continually suggest to your readers that if this and that point [of official Holocaust history] is not correct, the rest can't quite be true either. In this way, the Holocaust is reduced to the level of an industrial accident.

In its judgment, the Herford court dealt at some length with Waleny's writings, his alleged method of operation and his motivation. Although during the proceedings he did not dispute that Jews had been persecuted and annihilated during the Second World War, the court found that Waleny's publications nonetheless amount to denial or "whitewashing" or "trivializing" ("verharmlosung") of the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews, which under German law constitutes the crime of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*). Waleny "denies the historically determined fact of the million-fold murder of Jews by the National Socialists," the court declared, "and thus offends every Jew. This attacks the human dignity of each and every Jew ..."

The court also found that Waleny cites, "on a very scholarly-historical basis," quotations and facts that contradict, "in many specific points, the accepted version of German guilt for the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes." He "seizes on weak points ... and greatly blows them up in order to encourage a feeling of doubt in the reader." The court went on to state:

In dealing with war crimes of the Allies (American and Russian), the defendant points to numerous specific cases, which he discusses and comments on at length. He thereby gives

the reader the impression that the Allies were responsible for most of the war crimes of the Second World War, while the portion committed by the Germans is to be considered rather small ...

The court cited a passage in a "Historical Facts" issue in which Walendy reported approvingly on the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, who concluded that the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz could not possibly have been used for killing prisoners, as alleged. "By uncritically repeating the supposed findings of this 'expert,' the defendant endorsed them," the court declared.

The court criticized Walendy for reprinting, in "Historical Fact" No. 66, the text of an article from the *Basler Nachrichten* newspaper of June 13, 1946, "How High is the Number of Jewish Victims?" The article, reprinted from what the court acknowledged is "a respected Swiss periodical," thoughtfully discredits the commonly accepted estimate of six million Jewish wartime victims, and instead put the true figure at between one and one and half million.

"In connection with the other articles in issue No. 66," the court went on, the reprinting of this Swiss newspaper article encourages "the uncritical reader only to conclude that there is no solid proof for the systematic persecution and extermination of Jews, given that all figures must be treated with great caution and that, after all, one cannot say which claims are true and which are not."

"In these [“Historical Facts”] issues No. 66 and 68, the defendant attempted to pursue only the goal of denying and whitewashing the historically settled fact of the systematic persecution and extermination of Jews." In the Herford court's view, Walendy's "denial or whitewashing of the genocide of the Jews is meant to disturb the public peace. In this connection, it is not significant whether or not the public peace was in fact disturbed or not ..."

Walendy told the court that to make sure that the text of each forthcoming issue of his "Historical Facts" series conforms to the law, he routinely submitted the manuscript to four attorneys for their expert review. However, the Herford court simply dismissed the legal opinions of the four attorneys as meritless.

Veteran Historian and Publisher

Now 71 years old, and in relatively good health, Udo Walendy is a veteran revisionist historian, author and publisher. In 1956 he earned a "Diplom-Politologe" (Dipl. Pol.) certificate that affirms his specialized study and knowledge. For a time he was employed as a teacher by the German Red Cross.

He is the author of several books, perhaps the



Udo Walendy in his office.

best known of which is a detailed revisionist examination of the origins of the Second World War, *Truth for Germany*, which has been available for decades in both German- and English-language editions. (See the March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 28-29.) He also translated and published the German-language edition of Dr. Arthur Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (which has been banned by German authorities).

Beside books, Walendy's publishing firm has issued a series of popular-scholarly "Historical Facts" booklets. More than 70 issues in this informative, illustrated, magazine-format series have appeared since the mid-1970s. The most recent issues have been published by VHO in Flanders (Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium).

In 1979 Walendy addressed the first Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, and since 1980 has been a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. In 1988 he testified in the second Zündel "Holocaust trial" in Toronto.

On October 12, 1997, just after his release from a clinic where he had been under medical treatment, three policemen took him to begin serving his prison sentence. Recently he was given the right to leave the penitentiary in Münster, where he has been held, for "weekend visits" with his family. (He can be reached at Postfach 1643, 32590 Vlotho, Germany.)

Walendy's attorney in his legal battle has been Hajo Herrmann, an outstanding Second World War fighter pilot who endured ten years in Soviet prisons and labor camps.

'Thought Crime' in Germany

Walendy is not the only person who is in a German prison for expressing forbidden historical views. Since November 1995, Günter Deckert, a one-time high school teacher, has been serving a 44 month prison term for revisionist statements and activities.

He was given a two year sentence for "popular incitement," "incitement to racial hatred" and "defamation of the memory of the [Jewish] dead," because he had expressed approval of the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter regarding the technical-chemical impossibility of gassings at Auschwitz. In June 1996 an additional 20 months was added to his prison term because he had organized a public meeting in September 1990 at which David Irving had spoken, and because he had distributed revisionist books. (For more on the Deckert case, see "Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial,'" May-June 1995 *Journal*, pp. 40-42, and "Political Leader Punished," July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 26.)

In October 1994 Germany's parliament sharpened the law against "popular incitement" to make it apply more directly to "Holocaust denial." The new amendment makes it a crime for a person "in a manner that could disturb the public peace, publicly or in a meeting" to "approve, deny or whitewash" genocidal actions "carried out under National Socialist rule." Offenders are liable to fines and up to five years imprisonment. Noteworthy is the fact that German law applies only to the Third Reich regime and era. It does not criminalize "denial" of genocidal actions carried by Communist, Zionist, Democratic or other regimes.

(For more on the legal repression of historical revisionism in Germany, especially with regard to the Institute for Historical Review and it work, see: "German Government Issues Statement on the IHR," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 34-35; "German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets," and, "Institute Letter to German Authorities," both in the July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 29-31.)

Polish Authorities Ban BBC Team and David Irving from Auschwitz

Auschwitz State Museum authorities have banned a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television team and British historian David Irving from visiting the site of the wartime German concentration camp. In a July 15 letter to Irving, Museum official Krystyna Oleksy wrote: "We must advise you that permission will not be given for you to have any access to the Museum including the photographic and document archives. The BBC have been advised of the position."

No reason was given for the ban. "What are they fearful of?" asks Irving, the controversial author of numerous best-selling historical works. "It shows a grave insecurity, a lack of historical detachment. It's like the suspect saying: We don't mind investigators — just don't let in Lieutenant Columbo!"

Last October the BBC invited Irving to help with a television documentary on the suppression of free speech in Europe. Irving readily agreed. He also asked Museum authorities for permission to carry out research in their extensive archive of wartime documents, construction plans and photographs. Arrangements were made to fly Irving to Auschwitz on August 18 for two days of filming.

In a communication of July 20 BBC producer Nicholas Fraser wrote to Irving:

We've just received notice from the Auschwitz Museum, to the effect that they will not allow you access to the library or to any of the camp grounds. They control every inch of what used to be the Auschwitz complex and it would seem that we would be unable to film with you there. Reluctantly we have decided that we can't go ahead with our original plan. It just isn't possible.

Needless to say I am very sorry about this and I have tried in vain to convince the museum that this is not necessarily a way to promote freedom of speech. However, they are quite adamant and there is nothing I can do.

We propose instead to film with you in London ...

In issuing the ban, the Polish government agency implicitly acknowledges that it has something to hide. As it happens, Krystyna Oleksy herself admitted in early 1995 to a journalist for the prestigious French news magazine *L'Express* that the room shown to tourists as a supposed execution "gas chamber" in its "original state" is a fraud. It



David Irving was in good form as he addressed 140 persons at a meeting, sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, on March 28, 1998, in Costa Mesa, California. His lecture was entitled "Winston Churchill: Pearl Harbor and Other Wartime Secrets," although the British historian touched on other topics as well. South African scholar Costas Zaverdinos and IHR Director Mark Weber also addressed the spirited meeting.

was actually built after the war under Polish Communist supervision, and, as the magazine reported, "everything" about it is fake. (See "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-34)

It's one thing for western European police and courts to crack down on revisionist historians, who don't have much popular sympathy or public clout. But it's quite another when authorities in Poland impose restrictions on producers of one of the world's most prestigious and influential media services.

In May 1992 a German court fined David Irving 10,000 marks (about \$6,000) for publicly saying what *L'Express* and Museum official Oleksy now acknowledge. (See "Irving Protests German Persecution of Holocaust Skeptics," March-April 1995 *Journal*, p. 28) As a consequence of pressure from Jewish organizations, the historian is banned from Germany, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada.

In April 1996 New York publisher St. Martin's Press gave in to pressure from Jewish groups and cancelled publication of Irving's biography, *Goeb-*

bels: Mastermind of the Third Reich. Polish editions of two of Irving's works, *Hitler's War* and his more recent biography of Joseph Goebbels, recently have been selling well in the central European nation.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, www.ihr.org, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of *IHR Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, "The Leuchter Report," and Kulaszka's encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?*. New material is added as time permits.

Key words can be located in any of the site's items using a built-in search capability.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multi-media Internet service.

In recent weeks the IHR web site has been receiving 700-800 "hits" or "visits" per day.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its "webmaster." Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is

<http://www.ihr.org>

E-mail messages can be sent to

ihr@ihr.org

Dangerous Reputation

"One of the best ways to get yourself a reputation as a dangerous citizen these days is to go about repeating the very phrases which our founding fathers used in the great struggle for Independence."

— Charles A. Beard (1874-1948)

The 'Adelaide Institute' Conference Revisionists Meet in Australia

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

A revisionist conference was held August 7-9, 1998, in Adelaide, Australia, and I was happy to be in attendance. I was there on the invitation of the Director of the "Adelaide Institute," Dr. Fredrick Töben, and I gave two short lectures.

Conference participants came from the USA and Europe as well as Australia. In addition, there was a good number of remote participants. Dr. Robert Faurisson and some others sent videos in advance, and were interviewed and questioned by telephone during the conference. Some made written papers available in advance and then were interviewed and questioned by telephone. Some only communicated by telephone. Most of the coverage was specifically of Holocaust revisionism, but some other subjects were treated as well.

Overall, it was an educational and enjoyable affair, and Dr. Töben should be commended for its success.

It is well worth remarking that Faurisson participated on a remote basis because Australia will not issue him a visa on the grounds of "bad character," by which is meant that he has been convicted of a criminal offense in France, namely violation of the infamous Fabius-Gayssot law of 1990, which outlaws contesting "crimes against humanity" as claimed in the 1946 judgment of the main Nuremberg trial! Although there is no such law in Australia, this conviction in France was used as a legal pretext to bar Faurisson. I do not have such a conviction on my record because there is no such law in the USA, but I assured the conference attendees that, apart from legalistic mumbo-jumbo, my character is just as bad.

What follows does not purport to be a complete summary of the conference, but rather only certain highlights that occur to me. Other attendees no



Arthur R. Butz

doubt have other ideas of the highlights.

One of the speakers was David Brockschmidt, who lives near Adelaide and who with his wife Vita hosted me in his house during the conference. The story he told, part of which I pass along below, is one of the most interesting of untold stories, and involves some of the most important events of the century.

David Brockschmidt's father Heinrich was a plumber, general contractor and farmer in Germany during the war. He was a business partner of Oskar Schindler, and in fact was the man who organized the move of Jews from the factory in Poland to a new location in Czechoslovakia, as depicted in the Steven Spielberg film "Schindler's List." (Brockschmidt was not mentioned in the film, however.) The "list" of Jews who were moved was not drawn up by Schindler, as represented in the film, but by the camp commandant Amon Goeth, with the help of a Jewish accountant (not depicted in the film). Goeth and the accountant were deep into the rackets that prevailed at the time and under the circumstances, and made those Jews, newly taken out of the labor camp to make the move, pay dearly to get on the list.

For Schindler the motivation for the move was that the German authorities were trying to force him to switch to a less profitable manufacturing activity.

Goeth was arrested for corruption in the famous SS internal investigation led by Konrad Morgen, and was in jail when the war ended, awaiting probable execution. The most famous catch of Morgen's was Karl Koch, commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, who was executed.

As a veteran revisionist I understood immedi-

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

This article is copyright by A.R. Butz. It is slightly revised from a text that first appeared on August 20, 1998, on Dr. Butz's Web site: <http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz>

ately that the film scenes, in which Amon Goeth, at breakfast, shoots Jews in the labor camp from his balcony, were just typical Spielberg junk. Brockschmidt said that he had examined the aerial photos of the camp, and had determined that such events would actually have been impossible. The labor camp was higher than Goeth's balcony, and other buildings intervened.

The Jewish women who were diverted to Auschwitz were freed not by a bribe paid by Schindler but by Frau Schindler's girlfriend, who slept with one of the Germans in command.

Like Oskar Schindler, Heinrich Brockschmidt is listed at the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem as a "righteous gentile," not because of the move he facilitated, but because he hid Jews on his farm. David Brockschmidt spent some time in Israel, in 1967 and in the 1970s.

The Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf, with whom I spent pleasurable hours because he was also accommodated by the Brockschmidts, gave interesting papers on the Majdanek concentration camp and on the current attempts by Jewish groups to extort money from Switzerland. His native country has not rewarded him for this: In July he was convicted under the new Swiss "Anti-Racism Law" that makes denial of genocide a criminal offense.

Graf is convinced that the international Jewish pressure groups, mainly the World Jewish Congress, mounted their all out extortion attack on Switzerland only after the country's new "Anti-Racism Law" guaranteed that any fundamental controversy within Switzerland would be throttled.

Graf's paper on Majdanek was based on recent work done by himself and the Italian revisionist Carlo Mattogno (who did not participate in the conference). That work will be summarized in a book appearing later this year. Graf and Mattogno have made several visits to Eastern Europe, collecting vast numbers of documents. Their work is very basic and has, it appears to me, great potential because they do not appear to be primarily interested in glory or any sensational thesis. For example, Mattogno has recently published in Italian a book on the organization of the Auschwitz "Zentralbauleitung" (Central Construction Office). This is the sort of dry factual foundation required for future sensations.

Germar Rudolf, a German chemist now living in England, gave a deeply technical presentation on alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz. In 1993 he was sacked from his post at the Max Planck Institute for Solid State Research in Stuttgart, in 1995 was convicted of "Volksverhetzung" (sedition), and in 1996 was denied approval of his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Stuttgart, all for daring to investigate technical aspects of the alleged "gas chambers." He participated in the conference on a remote basis

because an outstanding German warrant for his arrest makes travel hazardous for him.

Jürgen Graf knows many languages and is a language teacher. While he was in Australia he learned that he had been fired from his teaching job back home on account of his conviction and sentencing. Faurisson is a brilliant academic who has forced the European establishment to resort to hysterical defense of the "Holocaust" legend (the Fabius-Gayssot law is a *Lex Faurisson*, almost a bill of attainder). Graf is a learned gentleman. Rudolf was a young chemist with a bright future.

I wonder about people who can read of their persecution and not express enough outrage to force European countries to rescind their laws restricting free expression, and which could not possibly be laws in the USA. How often do we hear of the international outrage over China's failure to abide by our notions of civil liberties? As I write this, there is much attention being paid to violations of human rights in Myanmar (Burma). The victims of this repression were foreigners intervening in that country's politics, not natives publishing historical studies. Dear reader, how is such hypocrisy possible? Are you guilty?



'Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine,' a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for \$20.

This important supplement to the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the Marco Polo furor, and more.

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Pope Pius XII and the Jews

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

The following are what I consider some important points in the behavior of the wartime Pope Pius XII in relation to the Nazi persecutions of the Jews. The rough situation is that, while the Vatican aided Jews, especially Italian Jews, Pius XII was relatively silent about "extermination." My explanation for this silence needs no lengthy elucidation.

Despite the great controversy, the role of Pius XII does need some elucidation. [See also "Pope Pius XII During the Second World War" in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*.] This is not intended as a summary of his papacy, or of his wartime behavior, or even as a full treatment of his behavior in relation to the persecutions of the Jews. Rather, the emphasis here is on those facts which I believe receive insufficient attention in contemporary debate on this subject. Much, though not all, of this material appears in Appendix E of my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Much documentation is given there or in other books I cite here, so here only some of the most important sources are given.

Eugenio Pacelli, who was to become Pope Pius XII in 1939, was Papal Nuncio in Germany during the Twenties. In 1930 he returned to Rome as the newly appointed Vatican Secretary of State under Pius XI. There he played an important role in negotiating, with the Hitler government, the 1933 Concordat between the Roman Catholic Church and Germany.

He is also commonly credited with authoring the 1937 papal encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge*. Released in German rather than the customary Latin, it expressed the deep differences between the Catholic Church and the Nazi movement, which had been developing ever since the Concordat. Youth education was a particularly contentious issue. After Pius XI died early in 1939, Pacelli became Pope Pius XII, six months before the outbreak of war in Europe.

The Jewish "extermination" claims started in a subdued form in mid-1942. In his Christmas message for 1942, Pius XII made a passing remark, without specific reference to the Jews, to "the hundreds of thousands who, through no fault of their own, and solely because of their nation or race, have been condemned to death or progressive extinction." This is usually interpreted as a reference to genocidal persecutions of Jews, and that interpretation is arguable, but the context in which the statement

was made is very revealing.

As is clear from the Vatican's published documents, the overriding objective of Vatican diplomacy at the time was the securing of an Allied pledge to not bomb Rome. On December 14, 1942, the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, met with the British Minister to the Vatican, F. D'Arcy Osborne, to this end. Maglione's notes on the meeting present Osborne as suddenly changing the subject from the possible bombing of Rome to demanding that the Vatican "intervene to stop the massacres of the Jews."¹

In reading Maglione's notes it is evident that the Pope's remark in his Christmas message was made under duress; Osborne made it seem to Maglione that the alternative was bombs. It is probably not the case that the Allied governments instructed Osborne to propose such a deal; perhaps the matter was on Osborne's mind only because an Allied declaration on the Jews was soon to come (on December 17). However, it is the case that Maglione's notes indicate that he thought such a deal was being proposed. This is the context of the remarks in the Christmas 1942 message of Pius XII. The Allies wanted something stronger, and later urged Pius XII to endorse their declaration of December 17, but he refused because "he felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda."²

Pius XII made a remark, similar to that in his Christmas message, in a long address on June 2, 1943. Rome was first bombed on July 19, 1943, and I am not aware of any repetition of the Christmas remark, or of any like it, by Pius XII after Rome was bombed. He even said nothing about exterminations of Jews after the Germans had been driven out of Rome, and there could have been no danger in making such a declaration.

After the Nazis were defeated, Pius XII made an address to the College of Cardinals (June 2, 1945) in which he condemned "applications of National Socialist [that is, Nazi] teachings, which even went so far as to use the most exquisite scientific methods to torture or eliminate people who were often innocent." However reading further into the speech it becomes clear that the Pope, like so many other people at the time, was thinking of the catastrophic scenes found in the German camps at the end of the war. The only specific victims mentioned were the Catholic priests who died at Dachau. There is nothing in the address about extermination of any

racial, religious or national group.³

None of this is to imply that the Vatican under Pope Pius XII ignored the plight of the Jews. Its help to Italian Jews during the German occupation is well known. For example, several thousand Jews were given refuge in the Vatican after the Germans occupied Rome in 1943, and there were many other ways the Vatican helped Jews.⁴

In spring 1944, after the Germans had been driven out of Rome, Jews were able to come out of hiding. The joyous American Jewish Committee arranged a special broadcast, over a New York radio station, of a thanksgiving service by the Chief Rabbi of Rome, Israele Anton Zolli.⁵ I have no record of the broadcast or service, but I assume that on this occasion Zolli expressed the same sort of gratitude to Pius XII, for helping Jews, that he was loudly expressing at the time in other contexts.⁶

Zolli was to go further. Partly out of "his gratitude [to Pius XII] on behalf of the Jewish community for aid offered during the German occupation," Zolli, "the spiritual head of the oldest Jewish community of Europe," converted to Roman Catholicism in February 1945, taking the baptismal name Eugenio, to honor the Pope.⁷

Zolli was not isolated in his gratitude. In November 1945 Jewish survivors of Nazi concentration camps, received by Pius XII, "thanked the pontiff for the generosity he had manifested during the terrible period of Nazi fascism." In March 1946 the Italian Jewish communities, meeting in Rome, "paid homage to the pope and expressed their deepest gratitude" to the Catholic Church for its help.⁸

These are some of the facts that I believe are either absent from, or whose implications are not grasped in, the debates on the behavior of Pius XII. An eloquent defense of Pius XII is to be found at the Web site of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights (www.catholicleague.org). This defense even mentions the Zolli conversion, an episode sometimes considered too "sensitive" to be mentioned. However such defenses do not satisfactorily confront the heart of the accusation: Pius XII did not speak up forthrightly against "extermination." The only exception that can be cited is an ambiguous declaration which, my analysis shows, was made under the threat of Allied bombs.

Nevertheless Pius XII won the loudly expressed gratitude of contemporaneous Jewish communities for what he did do for the Jews, but the implications of that fact are not grasped. For me, there are two principal implications. First, under the circumstances that Pius XII was in, there is no reason why he would not have condemned exterminations of Jews forthrightly and unambiguously, if he had known of them. And if they had happened, he would have known of them.



Pope Pius XII

Second, it is suggested that for those Jews the "extermination" was understood to be hyperbole, of a rhetorical substance not to be taken literally.

The defenders of Pius XII will have a difficult time if they do not understand these implications of the facts easily available in the historical record, and if they continue to sidestep the heart of the accusation.

Related matters are taken up in my obituary of Robert A. Graham (published in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-25).

— June 16, 1998

Notes

1. *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*, vol. 7, pp. 136ff.
2. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), pp. 104-105.
3. *The New York Times*, June 3, 1945, p. 22.
4. Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity: How the Vatican's Nazi Networks Betrayed Western Intelligence to the Soviets* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), Ch. 1.
5. *The New York Times*, July 22, 1944, p. 11, and July 24, 1944, p. 15. The second story transmits exultant remarks of American Lt. Gen. Mark Clark, who does not suggest that physical extermination of the Jews was ever a factor.
6. *The New York Times*, June 17, 1944, p. 5; July 9, 1944, p. 18; July 27, 1944, p. 3.
7. *The New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1945, p. 4; March 5, 1945, p. 17; Robert G. Weisbord and Wallace P. Sillanpoa, *The Chief Rabbi, the Pope, and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), pp. 1f.
8. R. G. Weisbord and W.P. Sillanpoa, cited above, pp. 5f.

Jewish Group Demands More Anti-Revisionist Laws

An important association of Jewish legal experts is demanding new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism, reports a front-page article in the *Athens News*, June 28, 1998. A conference of International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists (IAJLJ), meeting in June in the northern Greek city of Thessaloniki, warned that "the international revisionist movement, using the Internet and an orchestrated propaganda campaign, could warp the historical memory of younger generations."

"The denial movement has a historical institute which is reviewing history and whose real aim is to deny the Holocaust," charged Itzhak Nener, an Israeli who is deputy president of the IAJLJ. "They have tremendous sums of money," he added.

"One aim of the conference," the *Athens News* reported, "is to convince more countries to pass legislation outlawing Holocaust denial." As it is, several European countries, including France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, already enforce censorship laws making it a crime to dispute the orthodox Holocaust extermination story of six million Jewish wartime dead. "Nener and his colleagues said the relevant punishment was too lenient, and more countries should crack down on people claiming the Nazi slaughter of Jews never took place," the *Athens* paper went on.

Another conference participant, Isidor Wolfe, a lawyer from Vancouver, Canada, said: "This growing [revisionist] group is using web sites to make amazingly ridiculous claims, like that they measured the gas chambers and found they were not big enough for people."

The IAJLJ plans to hold conferences in more than 20 other European countries to lobby for more anti-revisionism laws.

The statements by Nener and Wolfe are typical, in that they exaggerate the financial resources of the international revisionist movement and grotesquely misrepresent revisionist arguments and findings. If revisionist arguments were really as absurd as these Jewish legal experts contend, there would hardly be a need for laws to punish anyone espousing them.

Actually, the anti-revisionist laws that are already in place, and the IAJLJ conference's call for more such legal measures, confirm the tremendous importance of the Holocaust story for Jewish-Zionist interests, and underscore the inability of defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story to respond to revisionist evidence and arguments with compelling evidence of their own.

Given the record, the IAJLJ call for harsher anti-revisionist laws is likely to be successful. In recent years European governments have generally been unwilling to resist Jewish demands for money or legal measures directed against real or perceived enemies.

— M.W.

Revisionist Activism in Sweden

Support for historical revisionism has traditionally been strong in northern Europe. Orders for books and tapes arrive regularly at the IHR from Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland — countries where most educated people understand English.

And unlike citizens of France, Germany and a few other countries, Scandinavians still enjoy the freedom to express skeptical views on controversial issues of 20th-century history. According to a survey conducted by Stockholm University and the Crime Prevention Council, and made public last year, nearly a third of Swedish secondary school students have doubts about the official Holocaust extermination story.

Certainly some of the credit for this is due to the work of Ahmed Rami, a Moroccan-born political exile who lives and works in Stockholm. For more than ten years now, he has been upsetting the complacent with his pro-revisionist and Islamist "Radio Islam" broadcasts, his Internet web site (www.abbc.com/islam), in leaflets, and in several books. In addition, Rami makes frequent visits to Arab and Muslim countries, where he and his views are widely respected. Much to the distress of Jewish-Zionist forces, Sweden's highest-level public prosecutor decided last September to drop all charges of inciting hatred against Rami's "Radio Islam" Internet Web site.

Rami, who addressed the 1992 IHR Conference, can be reached at Box 316, 10126 Stockholm, Sweden, or by e-mail at rami@abbc.com.

Also based in Sweden is the "Mimer" association, which has emerged in recent years as an important northern European revisionist center. It defends Swedish and European culture against "one worldism," dissects historical distortion, and counters Zionist propaganda. (In Nordic mythology, Mimer is the giant who guards the spring of wisdom at the root of the great ash tree, Ygdrasil, whose roots and branches bind together heaven, earth and hell.)

From time to time Mimer puts out an attractive

newsletter-magazine, now in its eighth year of publication. A typical issue of *Mimer* is 20-24 pages in length, often with one or two articles in English.

An article on the Jewish role in the black slave trade, along with an essay (in English) on Savitri Devi, the "Priestess of Hitlerism," appear in issue No. 24 (Nov. 1997).

An essay on the 1938 "Crystal Night" anti-Jewish outburst of violence in Germany appears in *Mimer* issue No. 25 (Dec. 1997). This piece is based on the book *Flashpoint* by German author Ingrid Weckert (published by the IHR). In this same issue is a good summary article, in question and answer format, on the origins of the Second World War, as well as a close look at the pivotal role of Danzig in the outbreak of war in 1939, and several articles on Nordic heritage and culture.

Mimer also gets out the word through its own Internet web site (www.mimer.org), and a book distribution service. Its catalog lists more than a hundred books and booklets dealing with history, current affairs and political philosophy, including several titles published by the IHR and Noontide Press.

Mimer can be reached at Box 15024, 20031 Malmö, Sweden, or by e-mail at webmaster@mimer.org



Ahmed Rami, left, with French scholar Roger Garaudy.

Widespread Holocaust Doubts in Sweden

Nearly 30 percent of Sweden's elementary and secondary school pupils "have doubts" about the orthodox Holocaust extermination story, a recent survey shows. Calling this "an appalling warning sign," Prime Minister Goeran Persson responded by promising that his government will increase its emphasis on "Holocaust education." Beginning this fall, he said, the government will offer "Holocaust education materials" to all households with school-age children. (Source: *Boston Globe*, AP report, June 14, 1997.)

Correction

There is an error in the article "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," in the March-April 1998 issue, page 14. The sentence after the subhead "Jean-Marie Le Pen" that begins the fifth paragraph (first column) should read as follows: "In 1987 Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France's National Front political party, was found guilty of violating French law by referring to German execution gas chambers as a 'detail' or a 'minor point' in Second World War history." Contrary to the impression given by the original wording, in 1987 Le Pen did not transgress against the Fabius-Gayssot law, which was not promulgated until July 1990.

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An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers

ROBERT FAURISSON

Born in 1939, Jacques Baynac is a French historian who is the author of several books.¹ A scholar whose sympathies lean to the left, he harbors a definite hostility toward revisionists (whom he calls "deniers"), and particularly toward revisionist writer and publisher Pierre Guillaume and myself. For years he affirmed the existence of Nazi homicidal gas chambers.

In 1996, though, Baynac acknowledged in two lengthy articles published in a Swiss daily newspaper that, taking everything into account, one is forced to admit — even if it is "as painful to say as it is to hear" — that the well-known "testimonies" are not sufficient proof of wartime homicidal gas chambers, and that it is simply not possible to prove, scientifically, that the homicidal gas chambers actually existed.

Given this lack of any direct proof, he continued, it will now be necessary to seek an indirect proof. Because one cannot prove that Nazi gas chambers existed, he goes on to write, it will instead be necessary to prove that it is impossible that they did not exist! Specifically, he writes: "If scholarly history cannot, because of the lack of documentation, establish the reality of a fact, it can, by means of documentation, establish that the unreality of this fact is itself unreal."²

Baynac made these remarkable statements in two lengthy articles published in the Swiss newspaper *Le Nouveau Quotidien de Lausanne*, September 2, 1996 (p. 16), and September 3, 1996 (p. 14).

The Evasion of Historians

In the first of these two articles, Baynac begins by deplored France's anti-revisionist "Fabius-Gay-

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay is a translation and adaptation of a text written in September 1996. We regret the delay in publishing it.

ssot" law of July 13, 1990, which he says allows "the deniers' sect" to use the courts as podiums for their views. He notes that this law has been criticized by Claude Imbert of *Le Point* magazine, historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet (who has said: "I am ready to kill Faurisson, but not to pursue him in a court of law!"), Madeleine Rebérioux (former president of the "Human Rights League"), anti-revisionist attorney Charles Korman, and several parliamentary deputies of the Gaullist RPR party.

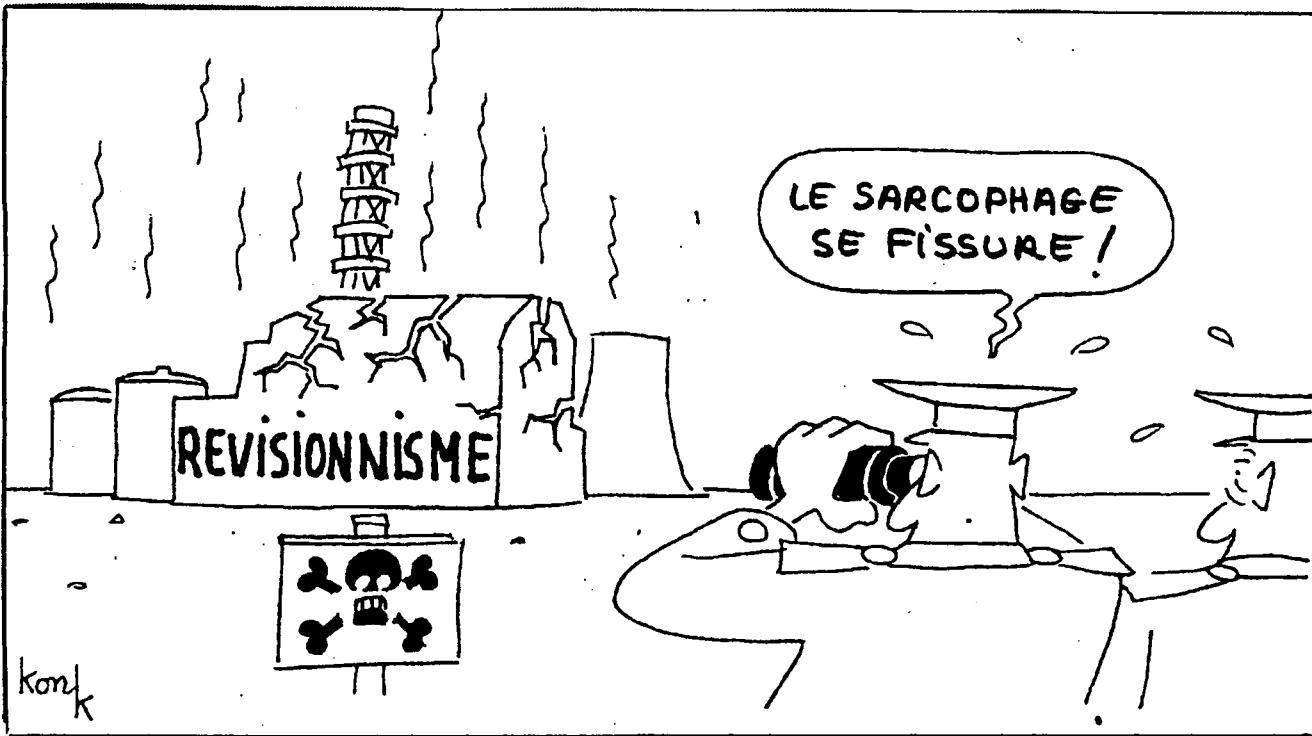
Baynac affirms that the revisionists/deniers have plenty of reason for rejoicing, especially since the Abbé Pierre affair "changed the atmosphere" in their favor. Baynac also notes that among the anti-revisionists, "disarray has given way to consternation," that historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet "is grieved," that the prominent French-Jewish intellectual Bernard-Henri Lévy "is beside himself," that Pierre-André Taguieff "is frightened," and that the front cover of an issue of the French magazine *L'Événement du jeudi* ("The Thursday Event") proclaimed "The Victory of the Revisionists."

Baynac denounces Jorge Semprun, an intellectual and former deportee, for having irresponsibly "murdered" a book by Florent Brayard that attacks French revisionist writer Paul Rassinier. Baynac believes that among Leftists there has come into being a "paranoia," a "witch-hunt" (in the words of Jean-François Kahn), and a "disastrous chaos." He notes that Simone Veil and Dominique Jamet share his dislike of the Fabius-Gayssot law, and that "one refuses to debate" the revisionists.

Baynac recalls the declaration by "34 reputable historians" published in the prominent French daily *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979 — a stupefying declaration that responded to but did not answer my challenge, which had appeared earlier in the paper, calling for an explanation of how, technically, the magical Nazi gas chambers were supposed to have operated. In this regard, Baynac writes of the "evasion" of historians in general, and goes on to declare that "the historians have retreated."

Neither Documents, Traces, Nor Proofs

In the second of his two articles, Baynac deplores the fact that anti-revisionist historians have trusted



REVISIONISM: "The tomb is cracking!" In this cartoon, from the French weekly *National Hebdo* (May 9-16, 1996), "Konk" notes the enduring vitality of Holocaust revisionism, in spite of repeatedly being pronounced dead.

Jean-Claude Pressac, a pharmacist and "amateur historian," who now concludes that the number of Jewish and non-Jewish dead at Auschwitz amounts "to a total of 600,000 victims."³ Baynac derides historian François Bayrou, France's Minister of National Education, who, conscious of the difficulties in trying to prove the "Holocaust" genocide and wartime homicidal gas chambers, advocates recourse to a "less burdened" historical method. Baynac sees in this a "light historical concept."

Baynac believes that Nazi gas chambers existed, but thinks that those who have tried to prove their existence have overly employed an "ascientific" methodology, rather than a "scientific" one. In this "ascientific" method, he goes on, "testimony prevails," while in the "scientific" method documents prevail. However, he adds with regret, one is able only to ascertain "the absence of documents, traces, or other material proofs."⁴

Baynac recalls the admission made in 1988 by Jewish-American historian Arno Mayer, who teaches at Princeton University: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable."⁵ Baynac goes on to say that "we do not have available indispensable elements for a normal undertaking of the historical method," and that "one must remain silent for lack of documents." He concludes with a remarkable concession: "it is necessary to recognize that the lack of traces involves the

inability to directly establish the reality of the existence of homicidal gas chambers."⁶ When he writes "the lack of traces," he means, as already mentioned, "the absence of documents, traces, or other material proofs."

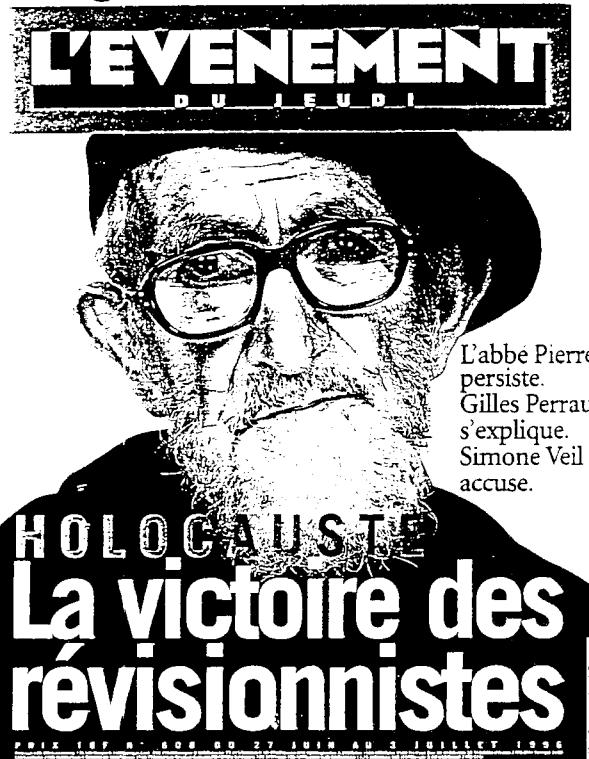
Proofs for Tomorrow?

Baynac's study concludes with the suggestion, already mentioned: because it is decidedly impossible to prove that the gas chambers existed, let us try in the future to prove that these gas chambers were not able not to have existed!

This is an example of admitting a present-day inadequacy while postulating an act of faith for the future. Baynac is naive. He believes that because so many historians have emphatically affirmed the reality of the "Holocaust" horrors and the homicidal gas chambers, and so many survivors have claimed to have seen them, therefore they undoubtedly existed. He does not realize that, with time, one discovers that the writing of *history* is full of *histories* that are more or less imaginary.

He continues to believe in the gas chambers, just as he seems to persist in believing in Communism. Tomorrow, one will find proof for these gas chambers. Tomorrow, Communism will be true. Tomorrow, one will get a free lunch. Tomorrow, one will finally have the proof that National Socialism is the incarnation of evil and that Communism is the

—Le guide des festivals de l'été



"Holocaust: The Revisionists' Victory" proclaims the French establishment weekly magazine *L'Événement du jeudi* ("The Thursday Event") on the front cover of its issue of June 27-July 3, 1996. This issue appeared during the national furor over a scholarly revisionist study by Roger Garaudy, *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics"), and the support he received from a widely respected priest, Abbé Pierre (also shown on the magazine's front cover).

incarnation of good. Let's hear it for the eternal credulity of the French intelligentsia!

Baynac joins, as it were, the "34 reputable historians" who, as already mentioned, in 1979 published one of the most monumental pieces of nonsense of French academic life: "It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible because it happened." Baynac thus adds his name to those of the 34 orthodox scholars who, without intending it, were obliged to agree with the revisionist historians on several important issues. This inevitably raises a question: how can judges continue to condemn revisionists for contesting a crime that, as Baynac now acknowledges, has not been proven?

Embarrassing Gas Chambers

It is quite clear that the "Nazi gas chambers" are ever more embarrassing for those who uphold the "Holocaust" thesis of Jewish extermination. As early as 1984, Pierre Vidal-Naquet warned friends who were already attempting to abandon the "gas chambers" that to do so would be "to capitulate in open country"⁷ And in 1987 a periodical hostile to revisionism published a letter by two French-Jewish teachers, Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione, suggesting that the Nazis had faked their confessions, and only mentioned gas chambers in order to plant "a delayed action 'bomb' against the Jews, an instrument of diversion and, why not, of blackmail."⁸

There are many other examples worth citing, but I will content myself here with citing just three recent ones: that of Elie Wiesel (in 1994), that of a Dutch professor of Jewish-Polish origin, Michel Korzec (in 1995), and finally, that of the Jewish-American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (in 1996):

- In 1994, Wiesel wrote in his memoir, *All Rivers Run to the Sea*: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination."⁹ In plain English this means: "Let's not try to see, or even imagine, a Nazi gas chamber." What follows inevitably from this is that Wiesel is quite skeptical of the alleged witnesses who, supposedly, have described what happened in the gas chambers.

- In 1995 Michel Korzec declared that too much emphasis has been put on the gas chambers and the number of gassing victims. With dialectic contortions worthy of a cabalist, he went on to argue that it was the Germans, and not the Jews, who are responsible for this error. In Korzec's view, many more Germans participated in the "mass murder" of Jews than has been assumed, and in many more places across Europe — many more than the small number of Germans supposedly involved in gas chamber killings of Jews.¹⁰

- In his 1996 study, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, an exceedingly anti-German work, Daniel J. Goldhagen wrote: "Gassing was really epiphenomenal to the Germans' slaughter of Jews."¹¹ And in a 1996 interview with a major Austrian weekly news magazine he stated: "For me the industrialized annihilation of the Jews is not the central question in explaining the Holocaust ... The gas chambers are a symbol. But it is absurd to believe that the Holocaust would not have taken place without the gas chambers."¹²

So, by 1996 the gas chambers had become a symbol!

A Swiss Newspaper Sets An Example

In recent years I have described at various times, in *samizdat* essays and in interviews

recorded by Ernst Zündel in Canada, this evolution by the "exterminationists" regarding the "Nazi gas chambers." In a text I wrote on September 22, 1993 (and which I intend to publish in my forthcoming book), I predicted that one day organized Jewry eventually would be obliged to give up the lie about Nazi gas chambers, while at the same time still insisting that "the Holocaust" is an irrefutable truth. Consistent with this, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, has decided not to provide any physical representation of a German homicidal gas chamber (except for a door of a *delousing* gas chamber and an absurd and "artistic" model).¹³

The two 1996 articles by Jacques Baynac in the Swiss daily paper are only a stage in this metamorphosis of official historiography. Baynac's articles confirm that, for quite some time now, historians have broken with the facade of unanimity. Step by step, historians are rejecting the simplistic conclusions of the Nuremberg Tribunal regarding gas chambers and genocide.

When French judges declare that challenging the existence of Nazi gas chambers is to challenge "crimes against humanity" (which the genocide of the Jews would have been), they are correct. However, if there is no longer any proof of a specific murder weapon, logically there is no longer any proof of a specific crime. This conclusion, rather embarrassing for the judges who dare to condemn revisionism, follows inevitably from the position taken by Baynac, a position that, once again, is not in any way peculiar to him but represents a general trend in orthodox historiography. Baynac is simply saying out loud what his colleagues have been thinking in silence.

In publishing these two articles by Baynac, *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of Lausanne, normally so hostile toward revisionism, has shown both discernment and respect for its readers.¹⁴

Jacques Baynac: "There are no proofs, yet I believe."

Robert Faurisson: "There are no proofs, therefore I refuse to believe."

For the first: freedom of expression.

For the second: a sentence of one month to one year of prison, a fine of 2,000 to 300,000 francs, and additional penalties.



Robert Faurisson

Notes

1. Among the most noteworthy of Baynac's books have been *La Terreur sous Lénine* ("The Terror Under Lenin," 1975), *Ravachol et ses compagnons* ("Ravachol and His Companions," 1976), *Mai retrouvé* ("May [1968] Revisited," 1978), *Les Socialistes révolutionnaires russes, 1881-1917* ("The Russian Revolutionary Socialists, 1881-1917," 1979), and *La Révolution gorbatchéenne* ("The Gorbachev Revolution," 1988). In 1987, he published, along with historian Nadine Fresco, an anti-revisionist article in the Paris daily *Le Monde* entitled "Comment s'en débarrasser?" ("How Can We Get Rid of Them?" [that is, the revisionists]), June 18, 1987, p. 2.
2. "... si l'histoire scientifique ne peut, faute de documents, établir la réalité d'un fait, elle peut, avec des documents, établir que l'irréalité de ce fait est elle-même irréelle. En établissant que l'inexistence des chambres à gaz est impossible, on liquidera définitivement la prétention du négationnisme à se poser comme une école historique ..." *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
3. *La Déportation: Le Système concentrationnaire nazi* ("The Deportation: The Nazi Concentration Camp System"), a work published under the direction of François Bédarida and Laurent Gervereau (BDIC, 1995), p. 196. Here Pressac estimates from 600,000 to 800,000 Auschwitz deaths,

This is quite a drop from the figure of 9,000,000 given in the widely-viewed film "Night and Fog," or 4,000,000 as established by the Nuremberg Tribunal and as inscribed until 1990 on plaques at the monument at the Auschwitz camp site (where since 1995 the new figure is 1,500,000).

On Pressac, see also: R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers," Spring 1991 *Journal*, pp. 25-66 (Part I), and Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 133-175 (Part II); Arthur R. Butz,

"Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 23-37; Serge Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely-Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work," July-August 1994 *Journal*, pp. 28 ff.; "The Jewish World' Against Pressac," Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 41.

4. "... l'absence de documents, de traces ou d'autres preuves matérielles ..." *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
5. A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 362.
6. "... il faut reconnaître que la manque de traces entraîne l'incapacité d'établir directement la réalité de l'existence des chambres à gaz homicides." *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
7. "Le Secret partagé" ("The Shared Secret"), *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.
8. *Article 31*, Jan.-Feb. 1987, p. 22.
9. E. Wiesel, *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, Memoirs (New York: Random House/ Knopf, 1995), p. 74.
10. M. Korzec, "De mythe van de efficiënte massamoord" ("The Myth of Efficient Mass Murder"), *Intermediair*, December 15, 1995. See also: R. Faurisson, "A New Version of the Holocaust Story," March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 22-23.
11. D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996), p. 521, n. 81. In this same book (p. 523, n. 4) Goldhagen also writes, "The imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected."
12. *Profil* (Vienna), September 9, 1996, p. 75: "Die industrielle Vernichtung der Juden ist für mich nicht die Kernfrage zur Erklärung des Holocaust ... Die Gaskammern sind ein Symbol. Es ist aber ein Unsinn zu glauben, daß der Holocaust ohne Gaskammern nicht stattgefunden hätte."
13. During a visit to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum on August 30, 1994, I met with the Museum's Research Director, Michael Berenbaum. He told me, in the presence of witnesses, that "the decision had been made not to present any physical representation of a Nazi gas chamber." See also: R. Faurisson, "The US Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Challenge," July-August 1993 *Journal*, pp. 14-17; "Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum," September-October 1993 *Journal*, p. 39; and, R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 16-17.
14. In the Baynac article in the September 2 issue of *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, p. 16, there are three minor errors: in the second column, one should read "Florent Brayard" (instead of "Florent Rassinier"); in the third column, "Jean-François Kahn" (in place of "Khan"); and, in the forth column, "Il ne faut pas se demander comment techniquement ...," instead of "Il ne faut pas se demander si techniquement ...," or, "It is not necessary to ask oneself how" (instead of "ask oneself if").

Promoting Holocaust Hatred of Germans

So much opprobrium has come to be attached to almost every aspect of the German past that it is impossible to say anything good about it without being condemned as a Nazi sympathizer. Nonetheless, it is hard not to conclude that the Germany of the past was vastly superior to the one about to dominate Europe for the next millennium. Germans today are whiny, parochial and unenterprising. They have 12 percent unemployment and the lowest birth rate in Europe. Their army is a joke. German ideas are copied from American liberals. Their courts have ruled it unconstitutional to display crosses in school. It is enough to make a Ludendorff, a Moltke, and a Bismarck cry.

Nazism, as far as I'm concerned, was in large part a response to Communism. That and the dishonorable treaty of Versailles, not to mention the disgrace of the German army ordered to lay down its arms on French soil. A decade ago, the learned Professor Ernst Nolte became the target of a campaign of defamation because he asked, "Didn't the Gulag Archipelago come before Auschwitz?" He also asked, "Wasn't the class-murder of the Bolsheviks the logical and factual presupposition of the race-murder of the Nazis?"

I say these are still rather good questions. Which brings me to the Jewish problem. It has been bothering me a lot lately. It has to do with people trafficking in the Holocaust — as vile an act as I can think and one that trivializes the suffering of millions. People like Alfonse D'Amato, Senator for New York, Abe Rosenthal of the New York Times, and the "leader of the Jewish community," Edgar Bronfman. Then there is the historian Daniel Goldhagen, author of *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

The latter's central argument is that ordinary Germans were not forced to commit crimes against the Jews, but relished doing so. His achievement in writing his best-seller was not to add anything to our knowledge of the Holocaust but to stir up hatred of the Germans. In this he has been amazingly successful. The likes of fat Frank Rich, Abe Rosenthal, Tina Rosenberg — all of the New York Times — have been exulting.

Given the fact that Lenin's and Stalin's murder squads were more efficient than the Nazis' — as were Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge — the constant harping on about the Germans seems to be motivated by profit.

— From an essay by "Taki" in *The Spectator* (London), March 8, 1997, p. 48.

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Shermer, just back from an inspection of the sites of the wartime concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau, cites a "convergence of evidence" in his defense of the Holocaust story.

Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, delivers a powerful summary of the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, and gives a devastating response to Shermer's arguments.

Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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Exposing Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

How the Soviet Union 'Lost' the Second World War

Poslednyaya Respublika ("The Last Republic"), by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun). Moscow: TKO ACT, 1996. 470 pages. Hardcover. Photographs.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

For several years now, a former Soviet military intelligence officer named Vladimir Rezun has provoked heated discussion in Russia for his startling view that Hitler attacked Soviet Russia in June 1941 just as Stalin was preparing to overwhelm Germany and western Europe as part of a well-planned operation to "liberate" all of Europe by bringing it under Communist rule.

Writing under the pen name of Viktor Suvorov, Rezun has developed this thesis in three books. *Icebreaker* (which has been published in an English-language edition) and *Dni M* ("M Day") were reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*. The third book, reviewed here, is a 470-page work, "The Last Republic: Why the Soviet Union Lost the Second World War," published in Russian in Moscow in 1996.

Suvorov presents a mass of evidence to show that when Hitler launched his "Operation Barbarossa" attack against Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941, German forces were able to inflict enormous losses against the Soviets precisely because the Red troops were much better prepared for war — but for an *aggressive* war that was scheduled for early July — not the defensive war forced on them by Hitler's preemptive strike.

In *Icebreaker*, Suvorov details the deployment of Soviet forces in June 1941, describing just how Stalin amassed vast numbers of troops and stores of weapons along the European frontier, not to defend the Soviet homeland but in preparation for a westward attack and decisive battles on enemy territory.

Thus, when German forces struck, the bulk of Red ground and air forces were concentrated along the Soviet western borders facing contiguous European countries, especially the German Reich and Romania, in final readiness for an assault on Europe.

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957), and recently retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

In his second book on the origins of the war, "M Day" (for "Mobilization Day"), Suvorov details how, between late 1939 and the summer of 1941, Stalin methodically and systematically built up the best armed, most powerful military force in the world — actually the world's first superpower — for his planned conquest of Europe. Suvorov explains how Stalin's drastic conversion of the country's economy for war actually made war inevitable.

A Global Soviet Union

In "The Last Republic," Suvorov adds to the evidence presented in his two earlier books to strengthen his argument that Stalin was preparing for an aggressive war, in particular emphasizing the ideological motivation for the Soviet leader's actions. The title refers to the unlucky country that would be incorporated as the "final republic" into the globe-encompassing "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," thereby completing the world proletarian revolution.

As Suvorov explains, this plan was entirely consistent with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as well as with Lenin's policies in the earlier years of the Soviet regime. The Russian historian argues convincingly that it was not Leon Trotsky (Bronstein), but rather Stalin, his less flamboyant rival, who was really the faithful disciple of Lenin in promoting world Communist revolution. Trotsky insisted on his doctrine of "permanent revolution," whereby the young Soviet state would help foment home-grown workers' uprisings and revolution in the capitalist countries.

Stalin instead wanted the Soviet regime to take advantage of occasional "armistices" in the global struggle to consolidate Red military strength for the right moment when larger and better armed Soviet forces would strike into central and western Europe, adding new Soviet republics as this overwhelming force rolled across the continent. After the successful consolidation and Sovietization of all of Europe, the expanded USSR would be poised to impose Soviet power over the entire globe.

As Suvorov shows, Stalin realized quite well that, given a free choice, the people of the advanced Western countries would never voluntarily choose Communism. It would therefore have to be imposed

by force. His bold plan, Stalin further decided, could be realized only through a world war.

A critical piece of evidence in this regard is his speech of August 19, 1939, recently uncovered in Soviet archives (quoted in part in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-33). In it, Lenin's heir states:

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war ...

Later on, all the countries who had accepted protection from resurgent Germany would also become our allies. We shall have a wide field to develop the world revolution.

Furthermore, and as Soviet theoreticians had always insisted, Communism could never peacefully coexist over the long run with other socio-political systems. Accordingly, Communist rule inevitably would have to be imposed throughout the world. So integral was this goal of "world revolution" to the nature and development of the "first workers' state" that it was a cardinal feature of the Soviet agenda even before Hitler and his National Socialist movement came to power in Germany in 1933.

Stalin elected to strike at a time and place of *his* choosing. To this end, Soviet development of the most advanced *offensive* weapons systems, primarily tanks, aircraft, and airborne forces, had already begun in the early 1930s. To ensure the success of his bold undertaking, in late 1939 Stalin ordered the build up a powerful war machine that would be superior in quantity and quality to all possible opposing forces. His first secret order for the total military-industrial mobilization of the country was issued in August 1939. A second total mobilization order, this one for *military* mobilization, would be issued on the day the war was to begin.

Disappointment

The German "Barbarossa" attack shattered Stalin's well-laid plan to "liberate" all of Europe. In this sense, Suvorov contends, Stalin "lost" the Second World War. The Soviet premier could regard "merely" defeating Germany and conquering eastern and central Europe only as a disappointment.

According to Suvorov, Stalin revealed his disappointment over the war's outcome in several ways. First, he had Marshal Georgi Zhukov, not himself, the supreme commander, lead the victory parade in 1945. Second, no official May 9 victory parade was even authorized until after Stalin's death. Third, Stalin never wore any of the medals he was awarded after the end of the Second World War. Fourth, once, in a depressed mood, he expressed to members of



In August 1939 Stalin ordered a massive two-year military-industrial mobilization in preparation for a powerful Soviet attack against Germany. However, his plan to overwhelm Europe in a decisive military assault was dashed by Hitler's preemptive "Barbarossa" strike.

his close circle his desire to retire now that the war was over. Fifth, and perhaps most telling, Stalin abandoned work on the long-planned Palace of Soviets.

An Unfinished Monument

The enormous Palace of Soviets, approved by the Soviet government in the early 1930s, was to be 1,250 feet tall, surmounted with a statue of Lenin 300 feet in height — taller than New York's Empire State Building. It was to be built on the site of the former Cathedral of Christ the Savior. On Stalin's order, this magnificent symbol of old Russia was blown up in 1931 — an act whereby the nation's Communist rulers symbolically erased the soul of old Russia to make room for the centerpiece of the world USSR.

All the world's "socialist republics," including the "last republic," would ultimately be represented in



Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun)

the Palace. The main hall of this secular shrine was to be inscribed with the oath that Stalin had delivered in quasi-religious cadences at Lenin's burial. It included the words: "When he left us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the responsibility to strengthen and expand the Union of Socialist Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall honorably carry out this, your sacred commandment."

However, only the bowl-shaped foundation for this grandiose monument was ever completed, and during the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR, the Christ the Savior Cathedral was painstakingly rebuilt on the site.

The Official View

For decades the official version of the 1941-1945 German-Soviet conflict, supported by establishment historians in both Russia and the West, has been something like this:

Hitler launched a surprise "Blitzkrieg" attack against the woefully unprepared Soviet Union, fooling its leader, the unsuspecting and trusting Stalin. The German *Führer* was driven by lust for "living space" and natural resources in the primitive East, and by his long-simmering determination to smash "Jewish Communism" once and for all. In this treacherous attack, which was an important part of Hitler's mad drive for "world conquest," the "Nazi" or "fascist" aggressors initially overwhelmed all resistance with their preponderance of modern tanks and aircraft.

This view, which was affirmed by the Allied judges at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal, is still widely accepted in both Russia and the United States. In Russia today, most of the general public (and not merely those who are nostalgic for the old Soviet regime), accepts this "politically correct" line. For one thing, it "explains" the Soviet Union's enormous World War II losses in men and materiel.

Doomed from the Start

Contrary to the official view that the Soviet Union was not prepared for war in June 1941, in fact, Suvorov stresses, it was the Germans who were not really prepared. Germany's hastily drawn up "Operation Barbarossa" plan, which called for a "Blitzkrieg" victory in four or five months by numerically inferior forces advancing in three broad military thrusts, was doomed from the outset.

Moreover, Suvorov goes on to note, Germany lacked the raw materials (including petroleum) essential in sustaining a drawn out war of such dimensions.

Another reason for Germany's lack of preparedness, Suvorov contends, was that her military leaders seriously under-estimated the performance of Soviet forces in the Winter War against Finland, 1939-40. They fought, it must be stressed, under extremely severe winter conditions — temperatures of minus 40 degrees Celsius and snow depths of several feet — against the well-designed reinforced concrete fortifications and underground facilities of Finland's "Mannerheim Line." In spite of that, it is often forgotten, the Red Army did, after all, force the Finns into a humiliating armistice.

It is always a mistake, Suvorov emphasizes, to underestimate your enemy. But Hitler made this critical miscalculation. In 1943, after the tide of war had shifted against Germany, he admitted his mistaken evaluation of Soviet forces two years earlier.

Tank Disparity Compared

To prove that it was Stalin, and not Hitler, who was really prepared for war, Suvorov compares German and Soviet weaponry in mid-1941, especially with respect to the all-important offensive weapons systems — tanks and airborne forces. It is a generally accepted axiom in military science that attacking forces should have a numerical superiority of three to one over the defenders. Yet, as Suvorov explains, when the Germans struck on the morning of June 22, 1941, they attacked with a total of 3,350 tanks, while the Soviet defenders had a total of 24,000 tanks — that is, Stalin had *seven times more* tanks than Hitler, or *21 times* more tanks than would have been considered sufficient for an adequate defense. Moreover, Suvorov stresses, the Soviet tanks were superior in all technical respects, including firepower, range, and armor plating.

As it was, Soviet development of **heavy** tank production had already begun in the early 1930s. For example, as early as 1933 the Soviets were already turning out in series production, and distributing to their forces, the T-35 model, a 45-ton heavy tank with three cannons, six machine guns, and 30-mm armor plating. By contrast, the Germans began development and production of a comparable 45-ton

tank only after the war had begun in mid-1941.

By 1939 the Soviets had already added three heavy tank models to their inventory. Moreover, the Soviets designed their tanks with wider tracks, and to operate with diesel engines (which were less flammable than those using conventional carburetor mix fuels). Furthermore, Soviet tanks were built with both the engine and the drive in the rear, thereby improving general efficiency and operator viewing. German tanks had a less efficient arrangement, with the engine in the rear and the drive in the forward area.

When the conflict began in June 1941, Suvorov shows, Germany had no heavy tanks at all, only 309 medium tanks, and just 2,668 light, inferior tanks. For their part, the Soviets at the outbreak of the war had at their disposal tanks that were not only heavier but of higher quality.

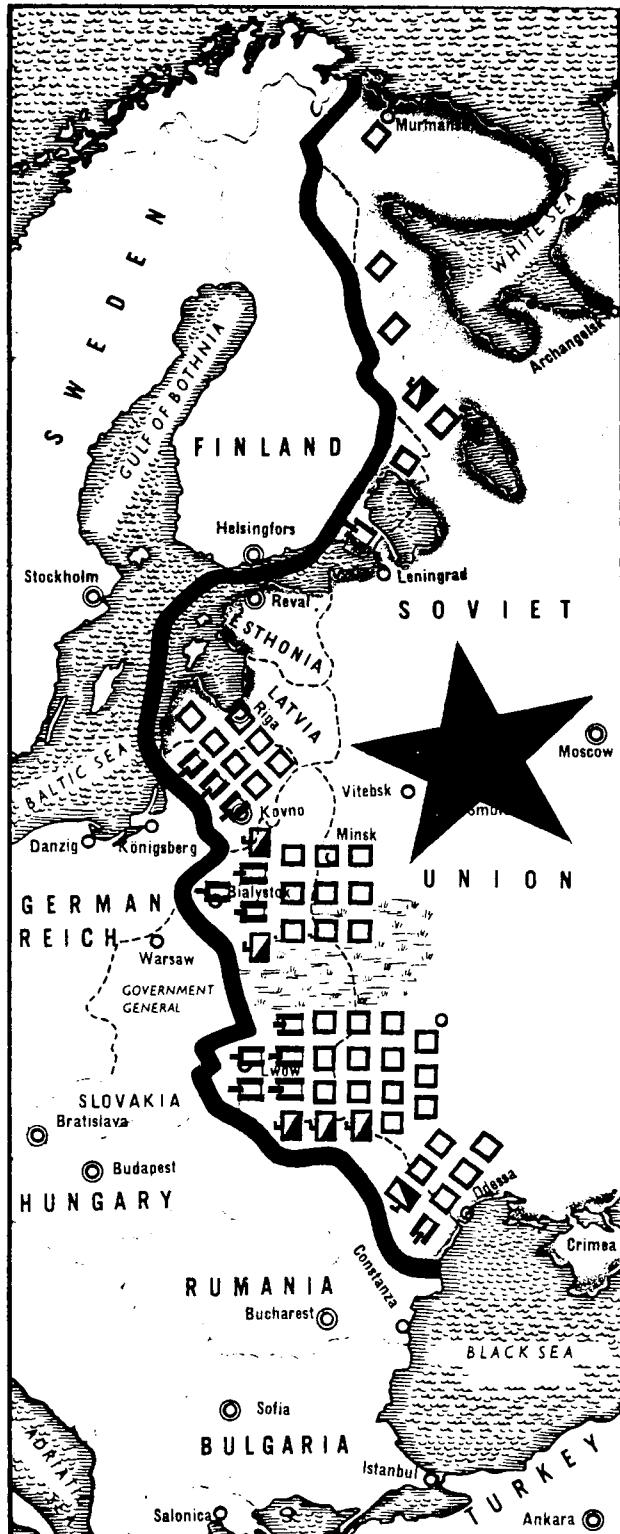
In this regard, Suvorov cites the recollection of German tank general Heinz Guderian, who wrote in his memoir *Panzer Leader* (1952/1996, p. 143):

In the spring of 1941, Hitler had specifically ordered that a Russian military commission be shown over our tank schools and factories; in this order he had insisted that nothing be concealed from them. The Russian officers in question firmly refused to believe that the Panzer IV was in fact our heaviest tank. They said repeatedly that we must be hiding our newest models from them, and complained that we were not carrying out Hitler's order to show them everything. The military commission was so insistent on this point that eventually our manufacturers and Ordnance Office officials concluded: "It seems that the Russians must already possess better and heavier tanks than we do." It was at the end of July 1941 that the T34 tank appeared on the front and the riddle of the new Russian model was solved.

Suvorov cites another revealing fact from Robert Goralski's *World War II Almanac* (1982, p. 164). On June 24, 1941 — just two days after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war:

The Russians introduced their giant Klim Voroshilov tanks into action near Raseiniai [Lithuania]. Models weighing 43 and 52 tons surprised the Germans, who found the KVs nearly unstoppable. One of these Russian tanks took 70 direct hits, but none penetrated its armor.

In short, Germany took on the Soviet colossus with tanks that were too light, too few in number, and inferior in performance and fire power. And this disparity continued as the war progressed. In 1942 alone, Soviet factories produced 2,553 heavy tanks, while the Germans produced just 89. Even at the



By mid-June 1941, enormous Red Army forces were concentrated on the western Soviet border, poised for a devastating attack against Europe. This diagram appeared in the English-language edition of the German wartime illustrated magazine *Signal*.



On the morning of June 22, 1941, Hitler launched the "Barbarossa" strike against the USSR, the largest military attack in history, to forestall an imminent Soviet assault. As Russian historian Suvorov shows, the German leader fatally underestimated Soviet strength and endurance. By striking first, though, Hitler saved at least western Europe from Soviet subjugation.

end of the war, the best-quality tank in combat was the Soviet IS ("Iosef Stalin") model.

Suvorov sarcastically urges establishment military historians to study a book on Soviet tanks by Igor P. Shmelev, published in 1993 by, of all things, the Hobby Book Publishing Company in Moscow. The work of an honest amateur military analyst such as Shmelev, one who is sincerely interested in and loves his hobby and the truth, says Suvorov, is often superior to that of a paid government employee.

Airborne Forces Disparity

Even more lopsided was the Soviet superiority in airborne forces. Before the war, Soviet DB-3f and SB bombers as well as the TB-1 and TB-3 bombers (of which Stalin had about a thousand had been modi-

fied to carry airborne troops as well as bomb loads. By mid-1941 the Soviet military had trained hundreds of thousands of paratroopers (Suvorov says almost a million) for the planned attack against Germany and the West. These airborne troops were to be deployed and dropped behind enemy lines in several waves, each wave consisting of five airborne assault corps (VDKs), each corps consisting of 10,419 men, staff and service personnel, an artillery division, and a separate tank battalion (50 tanks). Suvorov lists the commanding officers and home bases of the first two waves or ten corps. The second and third wave corps included troops who spoke French and Spanish.

Because the German attack prevented these highly trained troops from being used as originally planned, Stalin converted them to "guards divisions," which he used as reserves and "fire brigades" in emergency situations, much as Hitler often deployed Waffen SS forces.

Maps and Phrase Books

In support of his main thesis, Suvorov cites additional data that were not mentioned in his two earlier works on this subject. First, on the eve of the outbreak of the 1941 war Soviet forces had been provided topographical maps only of frontier and European areas; they were not issued maps to defend Soviet territory or cities, because the war was not to be fought in the homeland. The head of the Military Topographic Service at the time, and therefore responsible for military map distribution, Major General M. K. Kudryavtsev, was not punished or even dismissed for failing to provide maps of the homeland, but went on to enjoy a lengthy and successful military career. Likewise, the chief of the General Staff, General Zhukov, was never held responsible for the debacle of the first months of the war. None of the top military commanders could be held accountable, Suvorov points out, because they had all followed Stalin's orders to the letter.

Second, in early June 1941 the Soviet armed forces began receiving thousands of copies of a Russian-German phrase book, with sections dedicated to such offensive military operations as seizing railroad stations, orienting parachutists, and so forth, and such useful expressions as "Stop transmitting or I'll shoot." This phrase book was produced in great numbers by the military printing houses in both Leningrad and Moscow. However, they never reached the troops on the front lines, and are said to have been destroyed in the opening phase of the war.

Aid from the 'Neutral' United States

As Suvorov notes, the United States had been supplying Soviet Russia with military hardware



Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, American President Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill at their 1943 conference in Tehran, Iran. At this meeting, the "Big Three" strengthened the anti-German alliance that won the Second World War. A joint statement issued by the three Allied leaders on November 28, 1943, concluded with the words: "We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

since the late 1930s. He cites Antony C. Sutton's study, *National Suicide* (Arlington House, 1973), which reports that in 1938 President Roosevelt entered into a secret agreement with the USSR to exchange military information. For American public consumption, though, Roosevelt announced the imposition of a "moral embargo" on Soviet Russia.

In the months prior to America's formal entry into war (December 1941), Atlantic naval vessels of the ostensibly neutral United States were already at war against German naval forces. (See *Mr. Roosevelt's Navy: The Private War of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, 1939-1942* by Patrick Abbazia [Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1975]). And two days after the "Barbarossa" strike, Roosevelt announced US aid to Soviet Russia in its war for survival against the Axis. Thus, at the outbreak of the "Barbarossa" attack, Hitler wrote in a letter to Mussolini: "At this point it makes no difference whether America officially enters the war or not, it is already supporting our enemies in full measure with mass deliveries of war materials."

Similarly, Winston Churchill was doing every-

thing in his power during the months prior to June 1941 — when British forces were suffering one military defeat after another — to bring both the United States and the Soviet Union into the war on Britain's side. In truth, the "Big Three" anti-Hitler coalition (Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill) was effectively in place even before Germany attacked Russia, and was a major reason why Hitler felt compelled to strike against Soviet Russia, and to declare war on the United States five months later. (See Hitler's speech of December 11, 1941, published in the Winter 1988-89 *Journal*, pp. 394-396, 402-412.)

The reasons for Franklin Roosevelt's support for Stalin are difficult to pin down. President Roosevelt himself once explained to William Bullitt, his first ambassador to Soviet Russia: "I think that if I give him [Stalin] everything I possibly can, and ask nothing from him in return, *noblesse oblige*, he won't try to annex anything, and will work with me for a world of peace and democracy." (Cited in: Robert Nisbet, *Roosevelt and Stalin: The Failed Courtship* [1989], p. 6.) Perhaps the most accurate (and



Soviet troops hoist the red hammer and sickle flag over the Reichstag in Berlin, an act that symbolized the Soviet subjugation of eastern and central Europe. The Battle of Berlin climaxed the titanic struggle of German and Soviet forces that began on June 22, 1941. On the afternoon of April 30, 1945, as Soviet troops were storming the Reichstag building, Hitler committed suicide in his nearby bunker headquarters.

kindest) explanation for Roosevelt's attitude is a profound ignorance, self-deception or naiveté. In the considered view of George Kennan, historian and former high-ranking US diplomat, in foreign policy Roosevelt was "a very superficial man, ignorant, dillettantish, with a severely limited intellectual horizon."

A Desperate Gamble

Suvorov admits to being fascinated with Stalin, calling him "an animal, a wild, bloody monster, but a genius of all times and peoples." He commanded the greatest military power in the Second World War, the force that more than any other defeated

Germany. Especially in the final years of the conflict, he dominated the Allied military alliance. He must have regarded Roosevelt and Churchill contemptuously as useful idiots.

In early 1941 everyone assumed that because Germany was still militarily engaged against Britain in north Africa, in the Mediterranean, and in the Atlantic, Hitler would never permit entanglement in a second front in the East. (Mindful of the disastrous experience of the First World War, he had warned in *Mein Kampf* of the mortal danger of a two front war.) It was precisely because he was confident that Stalin assumed Hitler would not open a second front, contends Suvorov, that the German leader felt free to launch "Barbarossa." This attack, insists Suvorov, was an enormous and desperate gamble. But threatened by superior Soviet forces poised to overwhelm Germany and Europe, Hitler had little choice but to launch this preventive strike.

But it was too little, too late. In spite of the advantage of striking first, it was the Soviets who finally prevailed. In the spring of 1945, Red army troops succeeded in raising the red banner over the Reichstag building in Berlin. It was due only to the immense sacrifices of German and other Axis forces that Soviet troops did not similarly succeed in raising the Red flag over Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Rome, Stockholm, and, perhaps, London.

The Debate Sharpens

In spite of resistance from "establishment" historians (who in Russia are often former Communists), support for Suvorov's "preventive strike" thesis has been growing both in Russia and in western Europe. Among those who sympathize with Suvorov's views are younger Russian historians such as Yuri L. D'yakov, Tatyana S. Bushuyeva, and I. V. Pavlova. (See the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-34.)

With regard to 20th-century history, American historians are generally more close-minded than their counterparts in Europe or Russia. But even in the United States there have been a few voices of support for the "preventive war" thesis — which is all the more noteworthy considering that Suvorov's books on World War II, with the exception of *Ice-breaker*, have not been available in English. (One such voice is that of historian Russell Stolfi, a professor of Modern European History at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. See the review of his book *Hitler's Panzers East* in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*.)

Not all the response to Suvorov's work has been positive, though. It has also prompted criticism and renewed affirmations of the decades-old orthodox view. Among the most prominent new defenders of the orthodox "line" are historians Gabriel Gorodetsky of Tel Aviv University, and John Ericson of

Edinburgh University.

Rejecting all arguments that might justify Germany's attack, Gorodetsky in particular castigates and ridicules Suvorov's works, most notably in a book titled, appropriately, "The Icebreaker Myth." In effect, Gorodetsky (and Ericson) attribute Soviet war losses to the supposed unpreparedness of the Red Army for war. "It is absurd," Gorodetsky writes, "to claim that Stalin would ever entertain any idea of attacking Germany, as some German historians now like to suggest, in order, by means of a surprise attack, to upset Germany's planned preventive strike."

Not surprisingly, Gorodetsky has been praised by Kremlin authorities and Russian military leaders. Germany's "establishment" similarly embraces the Israeli historian. At German taxpayers expense, he has worked and taught at Germany's semi-official Military History Research Office (MGFA), which in April 1991 published Gorodetsky's *Zwei Wege nach Moskau* ("Two Paths to Moscow")

In the "Last Republic," Suvorov responds to Gorodetsky and other critics of his first two books on Second World War history. He is particularly scathing in his criticisms of Gorodetsky's work, especially "The Icebreaker Myth."

Some Criticisms

Suvorov writes caustically, sarcastically, and with great bitterness. But if he is essentially correct, as this reviewer believes, he — and we — have a perfect right to be bitter for having been misled and misinformed for decades.

Although Suvorov deserves our gratitude for his important dissection of historical legend, his work is not without defects. For one thing, his praise of the achievements of the Soviet military industrial complex, and the quality of Soviet weaponry and military equipment, is exaggerated, perhaps even panegyric. He fails to acknowledge the Western origins of much of Soviet weaponry and hardware. Soviet engineers developed a knack for successfully modifying, simplifying and, often, improving, Western models and designs. For example, the rugged diesel engine used in Soviet tanks was based on a German BMW aircraft diesel.

One criticism that cannot in fairness be made of Suvorov is a lack of patriotism. Mindful that the first victims of Communism were the Russians, he rightly draws a sharp distinction between the Russian people and the Communist regime that ruled them. He writes not only with the skill of an able historian, but with reverence for the millions of Russians whose lives were wasted in the insane plans of Lenin and Stalin for "world revolution."

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified—he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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Holocaust survivor and author
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Letters

The Deir Yassin Massacre

In his letter in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*, B.H. of Jerusalem, Israel, writes that "the Deir Yassin 'massacre' is a myth."

This is not true. Jewish-American scholar Alfred Lilienthal, the author of several important books on the Middle East, wrote in detail about this wanton and unprovoked massacre in his valuable study, *The Zionist Connection* (pages 153-158).

Jewish terrorists carried out the April 1948 massacre of 254 inhabitants of the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin, mostly old men, women and children, to strike fear in the hearts of the Arabs and panic them into fleeing the country. The plan worked.

As Menachem Begin later proudly admitted in his memoir, *The Revolt*, reports about Deir Yassin and similar incidents provoked a "maddened, uncontrollable stampede. Of the about 800,000 Arabs who lived on the present territory of the state of Israel, only 165,000 are still there ... The Arabs, who began fleeing in panic, shouting 'Deir Yassin!' ... The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated."

F.M.
Los Angeles

New CODOH Ad Campaign

Bradley Smith and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) have been placing advertisements in newspapers offering a \$250,000 reward to anyone who will sponsor a debate on the Holocaust issue, to be broadcast on prime time nationwide television, between Smith and a representative of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League.

I have paid for publication of this ad in our local daily paper. Smith deserves support for this

bold initiative. He can be reached at CODOH, MCD P-111, P.O. Box 439016, San Diego, CA 92143, or on-line at www.codoh.com.

Harvey Taylor
Nicolaus, Calif.

Truth's Beacon

Congratulations on the remarkable May-June [1998] issue. The *Journal* seems to get better all the time!

We value the great work you're doing to uncover the facts. With all their power, the forces of darkness are often temporarily able to obstruct the radiance of truth. In spite of the barrage of monstrous lies, you are succeeding not only in upholding, but in increasing, the brightness of truth's beacon. I rejoice with you.

I.H.
East Bridgewater, Mass.

Authentic Nazi 'Secret Speech'?

Recently I came across the enclosed front-page article from the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* of December 6, 1940, which appears under the sensational headline: "Secret Speech Outlines Plans of Hitler for World Mastery; Defeat of America Included." It claims to be the text of an address delivered in May 1940 by Walther Darré, Germany's Agriculture Minister, "to a number of high German officials." *Life* magazine also published the text of this speech, the paper reports.

In this address, Darré boasts that Germany is "predestined to rule the whole world." He describes Africa (of all places!) as the "the natural and indisputable 'living space' of Germany." Ruling everywhere, he declares, will be a new German "aristocracy" that "will have slaves assigned to it, these slaves to be their property and to consist of landless, non-German nationals." Darré suppos-

edly also boasts that "The United States will be forced by Germany to complete and final capitulation ... Mr. Roosevelt will then beg the Führer on his knees ..."

Can you tell me if this speech is authentic or propaganda?

J.S.
Hawley, Penn.

This "secret speech" is a fraud. From numerous German documents confiscated after the war, and from many other sources, we know that this "speech" is radically inconsistent with the thinking of the country's leaders, and with German policy. We know, for example, that Hitler strenuously sought to avoid conflict with the United States. And just about the last high-ranking German official who might conceivably have mouthed the arrogant nonsense in this "secret speech" would have been Darré, who had no responsibility for foreign policy. If this speech actually had any foundation in reality, some trace of it would have been discovered among the voluminous records confiscated at the end of the war, and it would have been cited endlessly as indisputable proof of Hitler's perfidy and aggressive intentions.

This "secret speech" is typical of the many anti-German propaganda lies aimed at the American public during this period to build support for President Franklin Roosevelt's secret campaign to bring the United States into war against Germany. In a radio address broadcast nationwide on October 27, 1941, Roosevelt himself solemnly announced that he had "in my possession a secret map, made in Germany by Hitler's government" that supposedly proved German plans to take over Latin America. "That map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi

design not only against South America but against the United States as well.

In this same speech, Roosevelt claimed to have "another document made in Germany by Hitler's government," this one a "detailed plan to abolish all existing religions." Like the purported speech by Darré, these "documents" are fabrications. (See "Roosevelt's 'Secret Map' Speech," Spring 1985 Journal, pp. 125-127.)

— The Editor

Doesn't Believe

I'm very angered by this 68 [sic] questions and answers on the holocaust. I do not think this paper should be given out. I can not believe that people believe in this. 6 million Jews were killed and they are my ancestors ...

I'm a Jewish teenage girl, 15 years old. My family lives in Israel and my grandparents lived through it, they were luck, but my parents' aunts and uncles and other family members were being killed not because they were ugly, pretty but because they were Jewish.

[unsigned and sent anonymously]

Lambasting Indians

I am writing to express my displeasure at the inclusion of Mark Twain's polemic against the American Indian, "The Noble Red Man," in the May-June [1998] issue. To dump mercilessly on a people for being starving beggars, especially by a member of the group that is responsible for the destruction of their natural support infrastructure, I find disgusting. The appearance of this mean-spirited, racist diatribe in an otherwise insightful and well-balanced periodical is most unfortunate.

A.S.
Ridgewood, New York

In publishing Mark Twain's essay in the May-June issue, you copy the same Jewish treatment of Gentiles that is deservedly criticized in the review of Kevin MacDonald's book that appears in the

same issue. Such inconsistency does you no good. If we have the right to describe any other ethnic group spitefully, we should not be offended when others describe us in the same way.

[by Internet]

Your lambasting the poor Indians in the May-June issue was an unfortunate departure from your primary area of concern. I'm enclosing a money order for a donation [\$25], and a book order.

K.C.
Ithaca, New York

More, Please

Congratulations on your article on Jewish terrorism in France in the March-April 1996 issue. It was mind boggling and deserves the widest possible circulation. Please continue to expand upon the "Six Million" issue while keeping in mind its critically important role in today's world.

Also very good was the lengthy essay in the Jan.-Feb. [1996] issue on the Inquisition and the "Jewish Question" in Spain. I very much hope you will continue to publish similarly detailed accounts on the Jewish impact in history. Such essays serve to bring this crucial issue into the open. More, more — please!

W.P.
Madison, Ind.

Christophersen's Grave Vandalized

From January to December 1944, Thies Christophersen was a German army officer stationed at the Auschwitz camp complex. In a widely-distributed memoir, first published in 1973, he wrote about the reality of the notorious internment center. His memoir was one of the first important works to forthrightly and skeptically confront Auschwitz extermination claims. "During the time I was in Auschwitz, he wrote in his report, "I did not notice the slightest evidence of mass gassings."

Driven from Germany, this pioneer revisionist writer and courageous fighter for truth in history was forced to live in exile

in countries where his "thought crimes" are not illegal. Then, in declining health, he returned to northern Germany to spend his final days in his beloved homeland. (See "Thies Christophersen" in the May-June 1997 Journal, p. 32)

But even his death in February 1997 did not put a stop to the hounding by the "never forgive, never forget" crowd. Several months after his passing, unknown vandals dug up Thies Christophersen's grave stone and hauled it away.

L.B.
Menlo Park, Calif.

A Minor Error

My respect for Kevin MacDonald's insight and courage grew as I read your persuasive review of his recently-published study, *Separation and its Discontents*. It's a wonder that this work was published by a well-regarded, "establishment" publisher.

I am writing, though, to point out a minor error. MacDonald is quoted as writing: "Jewish religious consciousness centers to a remarkable extent around the memory of persecution. Persecution is the central theme of the holidays of Passover, Hanukkah, Purim, and Yom Kippur." While this is certainly true of the first of the three-named Jewish holidays, it is not accurate to say that persecution is a central theme of the "Day of Atonement."

According to the book of Leviticus (16:29-34), Yahweh told Moses that the Hebrews should forever observe this solemn day as "an everlasting statute unto you, that once a year atonement may be made for the people of Israel for all their sins."

E. Svedlund
Seattle

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.



TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.



INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

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Advance To Barbarism

The Development of Total Warfare

F. J. P. Veale

In this eloquent and provocative work, an English attorney with a profound understanding of military history traces the evolution of warfare from primitive savagery to the rise of a "civilized" code that was first threatened in our own Civil War, again in the First World War, and finally shattered during the Second World War — the most destructive conflict in history.

As the author compellingly argues, the ensuing "War Crimes Trials" at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and their more numerous and barbaric imitations in Communist-controlled eastern Europe, established the perilous principle that "the most serious war crime is to be on the losing side."

Out of print for many years, this classic work of revisionist history — a moving denunciation of hate-propaganda and barbarism — is once again available in a well-referenced new IHR edition with a detailed index.



CRITICAL PRAISE FOR ADVANCE TO BARBARISM:

This is a relentlessly truth-speaking book. The truths it speaks are bitter, but of paramount importance if civilization is to survive. —**MAX EASTMAN**

I have read the book with deep interest and enthusiasm. It is original in its approach to modern warfare, cogent and convincing. . . His indictment of modern warfare and post-war trials must stand. —**NORMAN THOMAS**

The best general book on the Nuremberg Trials. It not only reveals the illegality, fundamental immorality and hypocrisy of these trials, but also shows how they are bound to make any future world wars (or any important wars) far more brutal and destructive to life and property. A very readable and impressive volume and a major contribution to any rational peace movement. —**HARRY ELMER BARNES**

. . . Indispensable to earnest students of the nature and effects of warfare. It contains trenchant criticisms of the Nuremberg trials, and it exposes the stupidities of "peace-loving" politicians. —**FRANCIS NEILSON**

. . . A very outstanding book . . . —**GENERAL J.F.C. FULLER**

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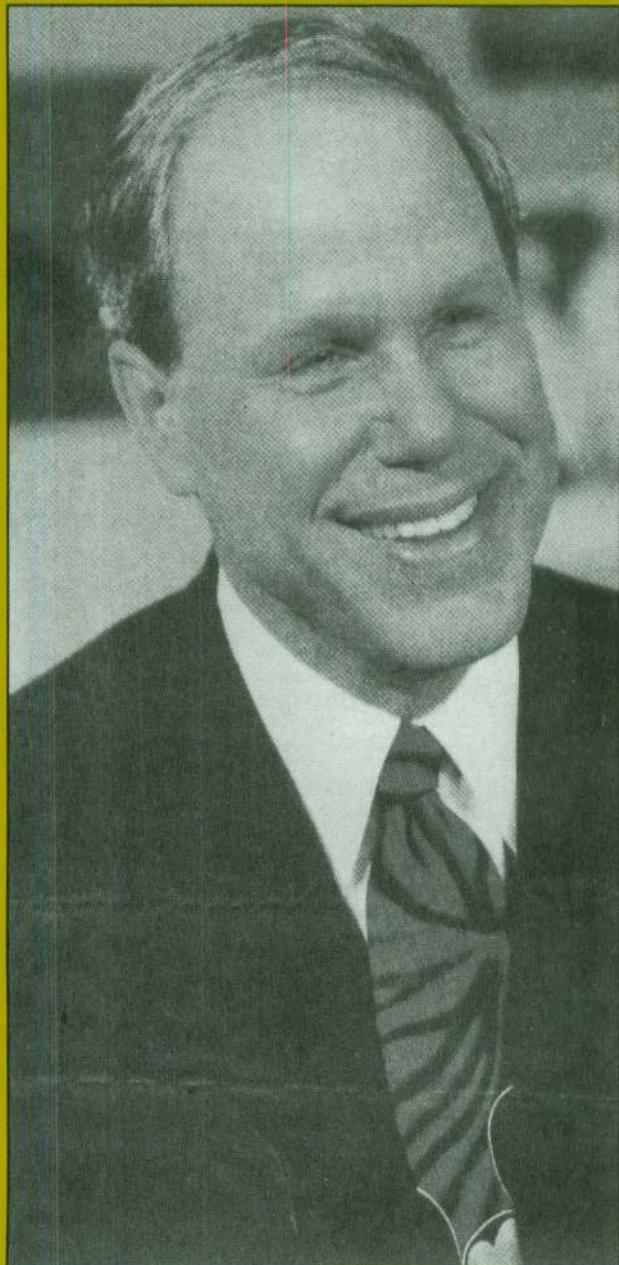
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Promoting Anti-Arab Bias in American Film and Television

Abdullah Mohammed Sindi

Michael Eisner and the Disney Empire

Mark Weber

The Big Hollywood Lie

Victor Marchetti

Points of Friction

Joseph Sobran

Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud

— Review —

Berenbaum's Failed History

Robert Faurisson

— And More —

A Stirring Narrative of Combat

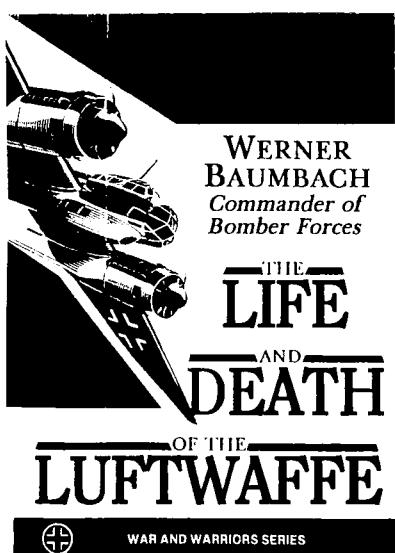
An Inside Account of the Triumph and Tragedy of the Third Reich's Air Force

The Life and Death of the Luftwaffe tells the riveting story of the meteoritic rise and calamitous fall of one of history's great air forces, as told by one of its most decorated and honored officers, Colonel Werner Baumbach.

A combat pilot who braved enemy fighters and anti-aircraft fire to strike at targets in virtually

every European theater of the Second World War, Baumbach was also such a superb organizer and keen strategist that he was appointed, at the age of 28, chief of the Luftwaffe's bomber command.

All of the Luftwaffe's celebrated campaigns are here: the blitzkriegs



against Poland, France and the Low Countries; the Battle of Britain; the massive invasion of Soviet Russia and the hard-fought retreat; the air wars over the Atlantic, the Arctic, and the Mediterranean; and the desperate defense of the Reich against merciless attack by British and American bombers.

Baumbach was one of the most successful fighter pilots of the Second World War, and the first to earn the coveted Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords. He was also a major figure in the fateful decision-making that shaped Germany's desperate struggle against the combined Allied forces. He played a key role in reorganizing the Luftwaffe's bomber arm.

In addition to memorable descriptions of dangerous combat missions, in this memoir he gives a frank and often critical inside account of Germany's air war. He provides an inside look at the heated disputes among the Reich's top military figures over strategy and tactics, with first-hand assessments of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Speer and other high-ranking Third Reich officials.

Baumbach played an important role in the development of Germany's "wonder weapons," some of which he tested himself. Here he tells of German jet fighters, guided missiles, the V-1 "buzz bomb," the V-2 rocket, and other pathbreaking armaments that laid the basis for modern air war and space exploration.

He provides fascinating details of German plans for amazing new weapons and tactics, including trans-Atlantic air raids against New York City and the Panama Canal, the training of Kamikaze-style suicide pilots, and a plan for piggybacking fighters and unmanned bombers to strike at distant targets.

After the war Baumbach barely escaped trial as a "war criminal," even as British newspapers were calling him "the German Lawrence of the Second World War."

Essential reading for anyone interested in the German Luftwaffe and World War II.



The Life and Death of the Luftwaffe

by Werner Baumbach

Translated by Frederick Holt

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On the Cover: Disney chief Michael Eisner.

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How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias Against Arabs and Muslims

ABDULLAH MOHAMMAD SINDI

Unquestionably the most powerful molder of opinion in the world today is the American global media, and especially the Hollywood motion picture industry. Ever since Zionist Jews forcibly established the State of Israel on the land of Arab Palestine in 1948 (with a great deal of American help), and as Arabs and Israelis have struggled for control of this land in the years since, Hollywood and the rest of American mass media have carried out a campaign to disparage Arabs and tarnish their image.

American motion pictures and television — which have promoted negative images of non-Caucasians, including Native Americans, African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans — since the 1950s have singled out Arabs and Muslims, more often than any other ethnic-religious group, as objects of hatred, contempt, and derision. (Because Arabs are the world's most numerous Semitic group, this hostility against them is literally anti-Semitic.)

'Villain of Choice'

In American television, writes Professor Shafeen, "the villain of choice today is the Arab." He also says: "To be an Arab in America today is to be an object of contempt and ridicule by television

Abdullah Mohammad Sindi, a native of Saudi Arabia, lives and works in California. He received bachelor's and master's degrees from California State University, Sacramento. In 1978 Sindi received a doctorate in international relations from the University of Southern California. He has also studied at the University of Grenoble (France), the University of Poitiers in Tours (France), the University of Liege (Belgium), and at Indiana University (Bloomington). He also conducted research at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (New York).

In Saudi Arabia Sindi served as a professor at the Institute of Diplomatic Studies (Jeddah), and as an assistant professor at King Abdulaziz University. In the United States he has taught at the University of California, Irvine, California State University in Pomona, Cerritos Junior College, and Fullerton Junior College.

This essay is adapted from the first chapter of his forthcoming book, *The Arabs and the West: The Contributions and the Inflections* (1999).

under the guise of entertainment. To me this anti-Arab image on entertainment manifests itself in the politics of America."¹

Misconceptions

This media campaign fosters numerous misconceptions about Arabs and their prevailing religion, Islam. For example, although Arabs have lived for centuries in thriving metropolitan centers such as Rabat, Algiers, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut, Mecca (Makkah) and Baghdad, and have built complex, civilized societies across the Arab world, as well as in Europe's Iberian Peninsula, many Westerners have been persuaded to believe that Arabs are typically uncultured nomads who live in desert tents.

Similarly, while many Americans regard OPEC — the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries — as synonymous with Arabs and the Arab world, and while the US media routinely blames Arabs whenever OPEC decides to raise oil prices, in fact six of the 13 OPEC member states are not Arab.

Also typically, American television and motion pictures often depict Arabs and Muslims, uniquely, as religious bigots, lacking any tolerance for the religious sensibilities of others. In fact, for much of history, Islam has been more tolerant of Christianity (and of Judaism) than *vice versa*. Moreover, it was Jewish Zionists who established Israel, in the "promised land" of Palestine, as a state exclusively for the "chosen people."

While the Arabic word "Allah" is often invoked in American films in a way designed to evoke derision and cynicism, conjuring an image of some weird pagan deity, in fact "Allah" is simply the Arabic word for God. Not only Arab Muslims, but Arab Christians and even Arab Jews, use this word as their term for God.

Although officially classified by US government agencies as "White" or "Caucasian," Arabs (and particularly Arab men) are sometimes depicted in American television and movies as Negroid blacks, reinforcing a derogatory image of Arabs as so-called "sand niggers."

"Terrorists" are active all over the world, in countries as diverse as Britain, Italy, Ireland, Rus-

sia, Germany, Spain, Japan, Israel, and the United States. (The terrorist record of the Jewish Defense League, for example, is well documented. In 1985 the FBI named the JDL as the second most active terrorist groups in the US.)² However, Hollywood has done much to encourage Americans to associate "terrorists" with Arabs (especially Palestinians), and Muslim "militants."

Arab Takeover?

Highly-publicized Arab purchases of some US corporations in the 1970s and 1980s set off hysterical cries in this country's periodical press and electronic media about the danger of Arabs allegedly "buying up" America. In reality, these purchases were unexceptional, no different than numerous other cross-border investments carried out routinely around the world over the last century. Actually, during the 1980s Canada, Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Japan accounted for nearly 90 percent of direct foreign investment in the US. Direct foreign investment from OPEC member countries, the US Department of Commerce reported, accounted for less than one percent of the total.³

Jewish Power in Hollywood

Negative images of Arabs in American motion pictures are hardly surprising given the major role played by Jews and other supporters of Zionism in Hollywood. In his 1988 study, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*, Jewish author Neal Gabler shows that Jews established all of the major American film studios, including Columbia, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Brothers, Paramount, Universal, and Twentieth-Century Fox. The American film industry, writes Gabler,⁴

was founded... and operated by Eastern European Jews... And when sound movies commanded the industry, Hollywood was invaded by a battalion of Jewish writers, mostly from the East. The most powerful talent agencies were run by Jews. Jewish lawyers transacted most of the industry's business and Jewish doctors ministered to the industry's sick. Above all, Jews produced the movies... All of which led F. Scott Fitzgerald to characterize Hollywood carpingly as "a Jewish holiday, a gentiles [sic] tragedy."

So rapidly did Jews come to dominate Hollywood that as early as 1921 Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* was moved to fulminate that American motion pictures are⁵

Jew-controlled, not in spots only, not 50 percent

merely, but entirely, with the natural consequence that now the world is in arms against the trivializing and demoralizing influences of that form of entertainment as presently managed ... As soon as the Jews gained control of the "movies," we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are not yet visible.

In his detailed 1994 study, *Sacred Chain: A History of the Jews*, New York University professor Norman F. Cantor, pointed out that Hollywood film production and distribution was "almost completely dominated in the first 50 years of its existence by immigrant Jews and is still dominated at its top level by Jews ... The last Gentile bastion in Hollywood, the Disney studio, came under Jewish executive leadership in the early 1990s."⁶

Jewish historian and journalist Jonathan J. Goldberg, makes a similar point in his 1996 survey, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment*. He writes:⁷

... Jews are represented in the media business in numbers far out of proportion to their share of the population ... In a few key sectors of the media, notably among Hollywood studio executives, Jews are so numerically dominant that calling these businesses Jewish-controlled is little more than a statistical observation.

Hollywood at the end of the twentieth century is still an industry with a pronounced ethnic tinge. Virtually all the senior executives at the major studios are Jews. Writers, producers, and to a lesser degree directors, are disproportionately Jews — one recent study showed the figure as high as 59 percent among top-grossing films.

The combined weight of so many Jews in one of America's most lucrative and important industries gives the Jews of Hollywood a great deal of political power. They are a major source of money for Democratic candidates. The industry's informal patriarch, MCA chairman Lew Wasserman, wields tremendous personal clout in state and national politics ...

Hollywood's Jewish executives greeted the founding of Israel in 1948 with ecstasy. One Jewish film executive, Robert Blumofe, later recalled the euphoric mood of the time: "And suddenly Israel, even to the least Jewish of us, represented status of some sort. It meant that we did have a homeland. It meant that we did have an identity ... All of this was terribly, terribly uplifting."⁸

In the decades since, Hollywood has presented an image of Arabs that is often cruel and barbaric. Manifesting its support for Israel, and its opposition

would not have been necessary for the Palestinians to resort to violence to draw attention to their case.

Christian Apologists

Many non-Jews also help promote a distorted pro-Zionist and anti-Arab portrayal of the past and present on American television. This is especially true of the Christian fundamentalist "televangelists" — such as Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggert, Jim Bakker, Jerry Falwell, and Oral Roberts — who have dominated America's "religious" broadcasting. These passionate defenders of Israel and Zionism show no sympathy for the plight of fellow Christians under Zionist rule, but even castigate Christian and Muslim Palestinians for resisting Zionist oppression and the Jewish subjugation of their historic homeland. This is not only tragic, but ironic in light of the fact that Israel treats the Christians (and Muslims) under its rule essentially as second-class citizens.

Such apologists for Israel often engage in gross distortions of history. For example, some Christian televangelists cite alleged massacres of Hebrews in ancient times (portrayed as the equivalent of modern Israelis) at the hands of the Assyrians (who are portrayed as the equivalent of modern-day Arab Syrians), and at the hands of the Babylonians (portrayed as the equivalent of modern-day Arab Iraqis). Ignored, however, is any mention of the numerous ancient Hebrew massacres of Philistines (the ancestors of today's Palestinians), as reported in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). In the Sixth Chapter of the book of Joshua, for example, we read as follows: "And they [Hebrews] utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword."¹⁸

Pervasive Negative Images

In his detailed study, *The TV Arab*, Arab-American scholar Jack G. Shaheen — professor emeritus of broadcast journalism at Southern Illinois University — documents pervasive negative imagery of Arabs by all American television networks, and by practically all leading newscasters and personalities working for them. For this book, Dr. Shaheen examined more than 100 popular television programs, totaling nearly 200 episodes, and interviewed numerous television executives, producers, and writers. American television, concludes Dr. Shaheen — including popular entertainment, comedy, drama, documentaries, news, and even sports and religious and children's broadcasting — across the board has, at one time or another, presented distorted and demeaning images of Arabs.

In addition to Hollywood movies and scripted

television programming, viewers can also find "humorous" Arab bashing on live, unscripted television broadcasting, even by prominent TV personalities. To get a laugh from a television talk show audience, Merv Griffin (who is not Jewish) once brazenly equated Arabs with animals: "If you lie down with Arabs, [you] get up with fleas." Once, referring to traditional Arab dress and fashion, Jewish television comedienne Joan Rivers laughingly told her viewers: "I can never tell if it's the wife or the husband because they're all in bedsheets." And Jewish comedian Alan King once disparagingly frowned when describing the traditional clothing of Sultan Qaboos of Oman, saying: "What the hell is he dressed up for? Oman's got eleven people and a goat."¹⁹

Even programming aimed at children has not been free of demeaning portrayals of Arabs. Among the popular animated cartoon characters who have fomented derogatory or hateful images of Arabs, Dr. Shaheen shows, have been Bugs Bunny, Yosemite Sam, Goofy, Woody Woodpecker, Popeye, Scooby-Doo, Heckle and Jeckle, Porky Pig, Plastic Man, Richie Rich, Pinky and the Brain, Animaniacs, and Duck Tales.

Pressing for Explanations

In interviews with American television executives, Dr. Shaheen pressed for an explanation for the hypocrisy and lack of decency and self-restraint in this pattern of Arab stereotyping on TV. Many of those questioned, he reports, were "embarrassed," and reluctantly acknowledged the widespread disparagement of Arabs, without, however, explaining the reasons for such prejudiced imagery.

Donn O'Brien, CBS vice president of broadcast standards, sheepishly admitted to Shaheen that he had never seen a "good Arab" on American television, and that Arabs are routinely presented as covetous desert rulers or as warmongers. "Arabs are rarely portrayed as good guys," acknowledged Frank Glicksman, a Jewish-American TV producer in Los Angeles. "I've never seen them portrayed as anything but heavies in melodrama. That, I feel, is unfair." Another Hollywood television producer, Don Brinkley, conceded: "The depiction of the Arab on television is generally horrendous." And George Watson, vice president of ABC News, admitted: "Arabs have not been seen to be as real, as close, or as tangible, either as individuals or as a group, as the Israelis ..."²⁰

Not all television executives were as forthcoming, however. Jewish television producer Meta Rosenberg, for example, bluntly responded to Shaheen's inquiry by saying that she did not care about the Arabs, and considered the Arab-American community — which now numbers well over three mil-

lion — to be “insignificant.” Shaheen also contacted Norman Lear, one of America’s most successful and influential television producers. Among his popular and innovative hit shows have been “All in the Family,” and “The Jeffersons.” In none of his numerous productions, Shaheen notes, has this Jewish executive ever presented a humane Arab. Lear simply refused to meet with Shaheen, answer any of his multiple letters, or even talk to him by phone.²¹

More than a few of those who work in the media, including some Jews, have expressed concern over the pattern of Arab bashing in American motion pictures and television. Journalist John Cooley, for example, acknowledged that “no other ethnic group in America would willingly submit to what Arabs and Muslims in general have faced in the United States media.”²² Columnist Nicholas Von Hoffman, writing in the *Washington Post*, told readers that “no national, religious or cultural group... has been so massively and consistently vilified” as the Arabs. Jewish writer Meg Greenfield, a veteran *Washington Post* columnist, expressed the view that “there is a dehumanizing, circular process at work here. The caricature dehumanizes ... [But the caricature] is inspired and made acceptable by an earlier dehumanizing influence, namely an absence of feeling for who the Arabs are and where they have been.” And Steve Bell of ABC News said simply: “The Arab is no doubt a current victim of stereotyping not only on television, but throughout the mass media in the United States.”²³

High Price of Speaking Out

Although criticism of specific Israeli policies is permissible in the United States, it is more or less forbidden to express fundamental criticism of the Zionist state, of America’s basic policy of support for Israel, or of the Jewish-Zionist grip on the US media or America’s political and academic life. (Remarkably, this is in contrast to the situation in Israel itself, where Jews and even Arab citizens of the Zionist state have much greater freedom than Americans publicly to criticize Zionism and Israeli policies.)

Prominent persons who dare to violate this prohibition are immediately castigated as “anti-Semitic” (that is, anti-Jewish), and pay a heavy price in damage to their reputations or careers. Politicians who publicly speak out against America’s support for Zionism risk almost certain political ruin. Among the political or governmental figures whose careers were destroyed because they violated the powerful taboo have been US Senators William Fulbright, Adlai Stevenson III, and Charles Percy, Congressmen Paul McCloskey and Paul Findley, and Deputy Secretary of State George Ball.²⁴

Those who merely “slip up” are obliged to recant.



Marlon Brando emphasizes a point to host Larry King during his much-discussed CNN television network interview, April 5, 1996. “I am very angry with some of the Jews,” said the 72-year-old actor. “They know perfectly well what their responsibilities are ... Hollywood is run by Jews. It is owned by Jews, and they should have a greater sensitivity about the issue of people who are suffering.” Similarly, in a 1979 *Playboy* magazine interview he said: “I was mad at the Jews in the business because they largely founded the industry ... You’ve seen every race besmirched, but you never saw an image of the kike. Because the Jews were ever watchful for that ...” Brando’s career has included legendary roles in such films as “A Streetcar Named Desire,” “Mutiny on the Bounty,” “On the Waterfront,” “The Ugly American,” and “The Godfather.”

Thus, Marlon Brando was promptly and severely chastised after criticizing Jewish Hollywood producers and executives for promoting vicious racist stereotyping of minorities. Even though what the well-known actor had said during an April 1996 broadcast interview with Larry King was demonstrably true, a short time later Brando was forced to issue a craven apology.

Sometimes the price for speaking out is more severe than the defaming of one’s reputation or the ruin of one’s career. On October 11, 1985, Alex Odeh, the West Coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was killed in a bomb blast when he entered his group’s office in Santa Ana, southern California. The previous evening the Palestinian-born Odeh had appeared on a local news show to present an Arab perspective on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The FBI announced that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) was responsible for the murder of Odeh, and at least two other terrorist incidents. The three JDL associates who were suspected of carrying out the killing fled to Israel to avoid punishment. No one has ever been tried for the murder of Alex Odeh.²⁵

Hate Crimes

Unlike other minority groups in the United States, Arab-Americans have had to endure hostility not only from ignorant and prejudiced individuals, but in addition from powerful Jewish-Zionist elements in the mass media.

For one thing, television and print journalists often identify Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans who are suspected of crimes by their ethnic or religious origin, a practice that incites already latent public prejudice and hatred. Thus one can find newspaper reports with headlines such as "Arabs Battle Police" or "Muslims are Arrested." Non-Arab criminal suspects are rarely, if ever, similarly identified by ethnic or religious origin.

Whenever acts of terrorism take place against the US or Israel, or the US or Israel is involved in military conflicts with Arab countries or groups, ordinary Arab-Americans become victims of hate.

As a result of the US-led military action against Iraq in late 1990 and January 1991, for example, hate crimes against Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, including arson, bombings, and assaults, tripled.²⁶ Incidents of harassment and physical attacks against Arab-Americans similarly increased across the country in the wake of the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, and of the April 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing. Arab-Americans were targeted as if they were personally responsible for these terrorist attacks.

Immediately following the Oklahoma City bombing, some reporters, such as CNN's Wolf Blitzer, accused Arabs of this act of terrorism. Similarly, CBS newswoman Connie Chung declared: "US government sources told CBS News that [the bombing] has Middle East terrorism written all over it."²⁷ Even after Timothy McVeigh was arrested and indicted for the Oklahoma City bombing, *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal baldly asserted that "most other attacks against Americans came from the Middle East."²⁸

As a result of such hasty and false accusations, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing there were 227 reported incidents of hostility, both violent and non-violent, against Arabs and Muslims across the US.²⁹ Men and women of Arab origin were insulted, threatened, cursed, picketed, spat on, and, in a few cases, physically attacked. Vandals broke into homes of Arab-Americans and destroyed property. Other hoodlums vandalized Arab-American businesses and other properties, spray-painting hateful slogans such as "Why don't you terrorists go back to your own country," "Get out of America," "You're not Americans," "You dirty Arabs," "You don't belong here," "Go back home," and "You will pay for this."³⁰

In 1997, reports the Council on American-Islamic Relations (Washington, DC), there were 280 incidents of anti-Muslim violence, discrimination, stereotyping, bias and harassment last year in the United States. This is an increase of 18 percent in such incidents over the previous year.³¹ The full scope of the and anxiety, fear and humiliation endured by individual Arab-Americans is obviously impossible to measure, but unquestionably many individual Arab-Americans have suffered in their personal, social, and professional lives, particularly if they are immigrants or first-generation citizens who (like this writer) speak English with an accent.³²

Some Arab-Americans have chosen to endure such bigotry and prejudice in silence. Others have responded by returning to their countries of origin, or by denying or concealing their heritage. Quite a few have "Americanized" or "Westernized" their first and last names, in an effort to "pass" as southern- or eastern-Europeans. Early in his career acclaimed motion picture actor F. Murray Abraham (who received an "Oscar" for his role in "Amadeus"), sought to escape prejudice by hiding his Arab identity.

Ominous Implications

Summing up the deplorable situation, Professor Shaheen has stated:³³

Because Arabs and Arab civilization are held in contempt by many in Hollywood, many Americans and their political representatives have few if any positive feelings about Arabs. Their impressions are based in part on the clouded image of the TV screen ... Stereotyping tends to be self-perpetuating, providing not only information but ... "pictures in our heads." These pictures of Arabs reinforce and sharpen viewer prejudices. Television shows are entertainment, but they are also symbols ... A villain is needed in [television and motion picture] conflicts that pit good against evil. Today's villain is the Arab... depicted as the murderous white-slaver, the dope dealer, the fanatic ... To make matters worse ... America's TV image of the Arab is marketed throughout the world ...

Non-Jewish Americans are also victims of the Jewish-Zionist grip on America's motion picture and television industries, propagandistically manipulated by alien interests that foment artificial distrust and enmity between peoples who, objectively, have no conflicting interests.

The hostility and prejudice against Arabs and Muslims engendered by Hollywood and US television infects not only tens of millions of Americans,

but also hundreds of millions of credulous viewers worldwide. Such noxious propaganda over a period of decades inevitably has grave long-term consequences. This flood of ethnic-religious poison understandably produces deep resentment among hundreds of millions of Arabs and Muslims around the globe — creating a vast and growing reservoir of resentment and rage that one day will almost certainly erupt with terrible fury.

Notes

1. Jack G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State Univ. Popular Press, 1984), p. 11; Quoted in: Richard H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* (Washington, DC: American Educational Trust, 1982), p. 153.
2. Mark Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network: Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and Other Criminal Zionist Groups* (Institute for Historical Review, 1993), p. 6.
3. J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 13.
4. Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York: Doubleday [and Crown], 1988), pp. 1-2.
5. Quoted in: N. Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own* (1988), p. 277.
6. Norman F. Cantor, *Sacred Chain: A History of the Jews* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 390, 401.
7. Jonathan J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Addison-Wesley, 1996), pp. 280, 287-288. This book was reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 37-38.
8. Quoted in: N. Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own* (1988), p. 350.
9. Michael Parenti, *Make-Believe Media: The Politics of Entertainment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 30.
10. Quoted in: M. Parenti, *Make-Believe Media*, p. 30.
11. Faisal Kutty, Bushira Yousuf, "Hollywood's View of Arabs, Muslims," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 14, 1998. Reprinted in "Other Voices" supplement to *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (Washington, DC), December 1998, p. S-10.
12. Quoted in: Jack G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 7.
13. 1997 *Britannica Book of the Year* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica), pp. 311, 739.
14. Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 127.
15. Norman F. Cantor, *Sacred Chain* (cited above), p. 401.
16. Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 127-8.
17. Quoted in: Richard H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* (cited above), p. 145.
18. Joshua 6: 21-14. See also, for example, Exodus 32: 26-29; Numbers 21: 2-3, 31-35; Deuteronomy 2: 34-35, 3:6, 7: 1-5, 20: 13-17; Joshua 8: 24-29, 10: 28-40, 11: 7-8, 14, 21-23; 2 Kings 10: 17, 30. For more on this, see: Mohammad T. Mehdi, *Terrorism: Why America is the Target* (New York: New World Press, 1998), p. 66.
19. Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (cited above), pp. 67, 57.
20. J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 114, 70, 111.
21. J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 127, 62.
22. Quoted in: R. H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image* (1982), p. 153.
23. Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 122, 7, and back cover.
24. For details see: Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1985). See also: Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978).
25. M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (1993), esp. pp. 5-6.
26. Richard Wormser, *American Islam: Growing Up Muslim in America* (New York: Walker & Co., 1994) p. 121.
27. Quoted in: Terry Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, No. 53, Summer 1995, p. 20.
28. Quoted in: T. Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer 1995, p. 21.
29. T. Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer 1995, p. 21.
30. Ann Talamus, "War in the Gulf, Repression at Home: FBI Targets Arab-Americans" *Covert Action Quarterly*, No. 36, Spring 1991, pp. 4-8; R. Wormser, *American Islam* (cited above), p. 4.
31. F. Kutty, B. Yousuf, "Hollywood's View of Arabs, Muslims," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 14, 1998 (cited above).
32. As an Arab I have faced ethnic-based hostility, from both Jews and Christians, in my academic career. During the 1980s and 1990s, when I taught at four different southern California universities and colleges, I was denied promotion.
33. Quoted in: R. H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image* (cited above), p. 153.

Renewal From the Bottom

"When I look back on the process of history, I see this written over every page, that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs from the ranks of the unknown is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom, it comes, like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit."

— Woodrow Wilson

Subverting the Disney Legacy

How Michael Eisner Has Transformed the 'Magic Kingdom'

MARK WEBER

For more than 40 years, the company founded and built by Walt Disney offered popular, well-crafted entertainment that upheld American values and traditions. Its films and television programming — even if sometimes sugary — epitomized, to use the much-mocked phrase, wholesome family entertainment.

It was the work largely of one man, Walter Elias Disney (1901-1966), a gifted illustrator, brilliant filmmaker and genial entrepreneur who left a lasting mark on American popular culture. His cartoon characters, animated films, and amusement parks, are recognized around the world.

In 1928 he launched the beloved Mickey Mouse character in an animated film, "Steamboat Willie," that became an immediate hit. In the decades that followed, Disney dominated animation art with such innovative and hugely popular films as "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" (1937), "Pinocchio" (1940), "Fantasia" (1940), and "Bambi" (1942). He also oversaw the production of such enduring feature films as "Treasure Island" (1950), "Robin Hood" (1952), "20,000 Leagues Under the Sea" (1954), "The Swiss Family Robinson" (1960), "The Absent-Minded Professor" (1960), and "Mary Poppins" (1964).

Politically conservative and ardently anti-Communist, the hard-working Disney was habitually involved in every stage of production and management. He and his work were honored with 39 Academy Awards, and hundreds of other awards and tributes.

Under New Management

A period of stagnation that followed the founder's death came to an end in September 1984 when Michael Eisner became the Disney company's Chairman and Chief Executive Officer. Eisner moved quickly to install fellow Jews in top positions throughout the Disney operation, and soon Hollywood's last gentile-run studio passed into Jewish hands.

As media critic Michael Medved has pointed out, "The famous Disney organization, which was founded by Walt Disney, a gentile Midwesterner who allegedly harbored anti-Semitic attitudes, now features Jewish personnel in nearly all its most

powerful positions." ("Jews Run Hollywood. So What?", *Moment* magazine, August 1996.) Under the new management, Disney company sales and profits soared, and the revitalized company reclaimed a leading place in the entertainment world.

A Mighty Media Empire

With its acquisition in 1995 of Capital Cities/ABC, Disney became the world's largest entertainment company. The Walt Disney Company today is a sprawling and highly profitable international business empire. (Revenue for fiscal year 1998 was \$23 billion, and net income \$1.9 billion.) With major holdings in film, television, radio and publishing, the company has a tremendous impact on the mindset and behavior of hundreds of millions around the globe.

Through Walt Disney Pictures (headed by Joe Roth), Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, Miramax (run by the Weinstein brothers), and *Caravan Pictures*, it is one of the world's largest film producers and distributors.

Through the 1995 merger, Disney acquired the ABC Television network, which owns ten television stations outright. It also has 225 affiliated TV stations in the United States, and is part owner of several European television companies. Among its other TV holdings are Walt Disney Television, Touchstone Television, and Buena Vista Television. Disney also controls three major cable television networks with more than 100 million subscribers: ESPN (headed by Steven Bornstein), Lifetime Television, and Arts & Entertainment (A&E and the History Channel).

Through its 1995 ABC acquisition, Disney owns 26 AM and FM radio stations, and has more than 3,300 ABC radio affiliates. The company also owns daily newspapers and glossy consumer magazines (including *Discover*), and Hyperion Press book publishers.

In addition to Disneyland — the "Magic Kingdom" amusement park in southern California opened by Walt Disney in 1955 — the company today owns Disney World (Florida), Epcot Center, Tokyo Disneyland, and Euro Disney (France), as well as the "Mighty Ducks" hockey team and the

"Anaheim Angels" baseball team. Each year Disney also sells well over a billion dollars worth of consumer products — toys, books and clothing — through more than 500 Disney stores.

Wealthy and Machiavellian

Michael D. Eisner, born in 1942 into a well-to-do Jewish family, was raised on Manhattan's Upper East Side and educated in private schools. His father was a Harvard lawyer who served as a high-ranking official in President Eisenhower's administration.

As Disney chairman, Eisner has been fabulously — some might say obscenely — compensated. His annual base salary of \$750,000 is only a small portion of his Disney income, which is mostly from stock option profits. In 1993, for example, Eisner's total compensation was a staggering \$203 million, while in 1997 he exercised options on 21.9 million shares for a profit of \$550 million.

Since 1984, chairman Eisner has received nearly \$1 billion from Disney, including base salary, bonuses, and stock options (*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 4, 1997). In January 1997 he signed a ten-year extension contract with the company valued at some \$200 million.

Eisner has cultivated a public image of himself as friendly, trustworthy, and even boyish. But those who know him well regard him as treacherous and Machiavellian. David Geffen, a fellow Hollywood mogul who has known Eisner well for years, said of him in a 1995 interview: "Michael is a liar. And anyone who has dealt with him, genuinely dealt with him, knows he's a liar."

Cultural Revolution

Since 1984, Michael Eisner and his colleagues have refashioned Hollywood's most culturally conservative and family-oriented studio into one of its most culturally seditious and anti-traditional. In doing so, they betrayed the founder's legacy, degraded his values, and demeaned the company's defining spirit.

Under Eisner's direction, the Disney company has turned out motion pictures packed with graphic violence and killing (such as "Pulp Fiction"), as well as rock music albums loaded with gross obscenities (such as "Insane Clown Posse" by "The Great Malenko" "hip hop" band).

Even *Commentary*, the magazine of the American Jewish Committee (March 1998), was moved to lament: "If the old Disney tells us something inspiring about who we were not so very long ago, the new and even more hugely lucrative Disney is just another signpost marking our long, steep cultural descent."



Disney chief Michael Eisner

'Pink Triangle' Disney

While support for homosexuals has been widespread in Hollywood for years, under Eisner the Disney company — in the words of the American Family Association — has become "one of the leading promoters of the homosexual lifestyle, as well as the homosexual political and social agenda in America today." Eisner himself is a board member of "Hollywood Supporters," an influential and aggressive homosexual advocacy organization. The Disney company advertises in homosexual publications such as *Out* magazine, and has given financial support to at least one benefit for the "National Gay and Lesbian Task Force."

In 1996, actress Ellen DeGeneres "came out" as openly homosexual, both personally and as the lead character on the "Ellen" sitcom series, broadcast on the Eisner-controlled ABC television network. Eisner introduced insurance benefits for same-gender partners of Disney's homosexual employees. For some years now, he has sanctioned "Gay Day" at Disney World, an event that each year draws throngs of boisterous "in your face" homosexuals.

"In the interest of full disclosure," quipped *Boston Herald* columnist Don Feder, "Disney should change its corporate logo to show a pink triangle flying over Cinderella's castle." He went on to refer to Disneyland as "The Magic Kink-dom."



Harvey Weinstein, center, president of Miramax Films, with Abe Foxman, second from right, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, and Howard Berkowitz, far right, ADL national chairman, at a preview screening in New York of the new Italian film "Life is Beautiful." At the far left is Robert Benigni, star, director and co-screenwriter of the Holocaust "comic fable," released by Miramax (a Disney subsidiary), with his wife and co-star, Nicoletta Braschi.

Assault Against Christianity

Under Eisner, the Disney company has waged a "cultural war" against Christianity, scorning the religious sensibilities of the vast majority of Americans.

In a 1995 statement, the American Catholic Lawyers Association indignantly declared

We all remember the Disney Company from the days when it produced films your children could actually watch without losing their innocence — films which showed a decent respect for Christianity and Christian values. But that was before Mr. Michael Eisner took the helm of the Disney conglomerate. Now the Disney Company has joined the rest of Hollywood in obsessively attacking the Catholic Church and pumping R-rated filth into our culture — under cover of its subsidiary, Miramax Films, whose co-chairmen are Bob and Harvey Weinstein.

A particularly offensive example of the Eisner/Disney assault is "Priest," a 1995 motion picture released by the company's Miramax subsidiary. It tells the story of four Roman Catholic clergymen: one is homosexual, another is alcoholic, a third has a mistress, and the fourth is insane.

One of the strongest voices protesting this movie, and Disney's anti-Christian productions generally, has been that of the Catholic League for Reli-

gious and Civil Rights, a New York-based civil rights organization. "Priest," said League president William Donahue, "displays the most profound hostility to the Catholic Church that I have seen in the last 15 years of reviewing movies." Eisner, Donahue added, would never approve a film that similarly portrays depraved Jewish rabbis or morally bankrupt homosexuals, or which contains cruel caricatures of African-Americans.

Anti-Arab

Reflecting the Zionist sentiments of its top management, the Eisner-run Disney company has produced a number of anti-Arab motion pictures in recent years. In a 1994 movie, "The Return of Jafar," for example, hook-nosed Arabs are referred to as "desert skunks." "The Father of the Bride, Part II" (1995), includes a loathsome Arab-American character named Habib (played, ironically, by Eugene Levy). "Kazaam" (1996), produced by Disney's Touchstone pictures, includes an assortment of villainous Arab characters, including a black marketer named Malik. Other recent anti-Arab Disney films include "In the Army Now" and "GI Jane."

In August 1996 the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee organized a demonstration outside the Disney studios to protest the company's pattern of anti-Arab productions.

White America Under Fire

For some years now, Hollywood and American television have churned out numerous *films* and television productions that distort European-American history and disparage white America's racial-cultural heritage. Under Eisner, Disney has moved to the forefront of this "politically correct" assault.

Among the recent Disney films that misrepresent and malign America's European heritage has been "Pocahontas," a 1995 animated film that portrays Indians ("native Americans") as liberated, nature-loving, wise and noble, while depicting Europeans as narrow-minded, ignorant, bigoted and greedy.

Under the "Hollywood Records" label, Eisner/Disney has issued CD albums with anti-white lyrics, including one by black "rap" singer "Prince Akeem," who blames black poverty on a "white conspiracy." In April 1996 Eisner fired New York City's most popular radio talk show host, Bob Grant, from his job at Disney-owned WABC for allegedly white racist rhetoric.

'Economic War'

Some of the millions of Americans whom Eisner and his colleagues have affronted are fighting back. Most notably, the nation's two largest Christian groups — the Roman Catholics and the Southern

Baptists — have declared “economic war” against Eisner/Disney.

In 1996 the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights announced a “nationwide charge against Disney, making use of every legal means available — from boycotts to stockholder revolts,” to pressure the company into ending its hostility to Christianity and Catholicism. Roman Catholic dioceses across the country and the Catholic fraternal association Knights of Columbus sold off millions of dollars in Disney stock.

The Southern Baptists — with 16 million members, the largest Protestant denomination in the United States — voted overwhelmingly in 1996 and again in 1997 to boycott Disney films and products. The group cited the company’s trashing of traditional and family values, and in particular its support for homosexuality.

The Assemblies of God church — an evangelical Christian denomination with 2.5 million members — launched its own anti-Disney boycott campaign in 1996. It criticized the company for “abandoning the commitment to strong moral values.”

Such boycott efforts seem to have had little lasting impact, however, because Disney company products and services are so widely available, often under non-Disney labels, because pre-Eisner Disney images are still so beloved, and, more generally, because of public apathy.

Seductive and Dangerous

Because Eisner and the others who run the motion picture and television industries are able to shape the public’s barely conscious basic assumptions about life and society, thereby profoundly influencing the thinking and actions of millions, they wield greater power than even our elected lawmakers.

A lust for profits does not adequately explain the social-cultural agenda of Eisner and the others who control the American media. Rather, they seem driven by priorities that are fundamentally hostile to this nation’s most vital traditions and basic values.

Precisely because the Eisners of Hollywood and New York beguilingly pose as friends, they are more insidious, and ultimately more dangerous, than even a military threat from a foreign power.

Eisner’s transformation of Disney parallels, and contributes to, the cultural, social and political transformation of the United States as a whole. Like America’s political leaders, Eisner and his Disney colleagues reassuringly display familiar symbols and trademarks from an earlier era, exploiting reputations and good-will painstakingly built up over decades. Those who patronize Disney are reassured that such beloved symbols as Mickey Mouse

and Snow White are still in place, just as millions of credulous Americans are reassured about the future of the United States because such icons as the American flag and the US Constitution are still in place. But in each case, the spirit that gave life to these venerable symbols has been driven out by a very different one — a spirit that has not yet dared to show its real face, or speak its real name.

A New Meritocracy

“By the 1970s, the principal television news producers and editors were also Jews — Fred Friendly and Richard Salant at CBS; Reuven Frank at NBC, Avram Westin at ABC. In whichever form of expression or communication, the public idiom by then manifestly had ceased to be a province of an Old American elite. It belonged to a new meritocracy.”

— Howard M. Sacher, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p. 773.

‘Smartest People’

“I think Jews are the smartest people in the world,” says film director Rob Reiner (“A Few Good Men,” “When Harry Met Sally”). “For thousands of years, they didn’t have a homeland. They got kicked out of places. They had to live by their wits, so they always stressed education.

“Because we are the smartest people in the world,” Reiner adds, “we are also the most hated. People feel threatened. We’re the smartest group of people, and yet we’re the lawyers, the doctors, the bankers. We’ve risen to high levels in society and that’s resented.”

With regard to the film industry, Reiner goes one to say, “it’s all run by Jews, even Disney.”

— Quoted by Paul Freeman in *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, Dec. 4, 1992, pp. 38, 40.

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The Big Hollywood Lie: Denying that Jews Control the Film Business

When country singer Dolly Parton told *Vogue* magazine a couple of months ago that her idea for a TV series about a country singer who becomes a gospel singer was turned down by Hollywood, she said that "everyone's afraid to touch anything that religious because most of the people out here are Jewish, and it's a frightening thing for them to promote Christianity." Truer words were never spoken.

But the ADL's chief troublemaker, Abe Foxman, immediately flew into one of his by-now tiresome furies and fired off a letter (which he made available to the news media, of course) to Dolly, scolding her for her innocent, honest comment. Foxman charged that Ms. Parton was invoking "the old antisemitic stereotype of Jewish control of Hollywood and hostility toward Christianity." He did not, however, directly contradict her or deny that Hollywood is controlled by his fellow Jews.

Being the nice person she is and knowing on which side her bread is buttered, Dolly dutifully and publicly apologized. She wrote to Foxman, "I regret that my words could have conjured up an impression of Jewish 'control' of Hollywood." Ever the arrogant, whining bully, Foxman accepted Ms. Parton's atonement, informing the media that it was a "refreshing capitulation." And the Hollywood lie lives on.

The Jewish denial that Hollywood is controlled by Jews is a great lie which can be attested to by anyone who has ever been associated with the film industry. Here is but one example.

In the late 1970s, *New American View* editor Victor Marchetti was working as a screenwriter on a spy movie. The producer, the director, Marchetti's agent and just about everyone else was Jewish. The proposed film was shopped around to several major

This essay is reprinted from the April 1, 1994, issue of *New American View*, a newsletter edited by Victor Marchetti. (It is no longer published.) Marchetti served for 14 years with the CIA, where he rose to be executive assistant to the deputy director. His book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, co-authored with John Marks, was the first critical account of the agency written by an insider. Marchetti's presentation at the Ninth IHR Conference, "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History," was published in the Fall 1989 *Journal of Historical Review*.

studios. All the executives at all the studios with whom the project team met, with one exception — Alan Ladd, Jr., then head of 20th Century Fox — were Jewish.

At one meeting, at MCA-Universal (the studio which produced "Schindler's List"), the discussion was interrupted when a latecomer entered the studio head's office and took a seat next to Marchetti. He was a little, nondescript person who seemed out of place in the production meeting. The studio head halted the discussion and, turning to the little man, asked if he had any problems with the project after having read the treatment, an abbreviated script. The man, speaking with a foreign accent, said no, smiled at Marchetti, and departed.

"Who is he?" Marchetti asked the studio head.

The powerful Hollywood boss answered, "He's an Israeli. I just wanted to make sure there was nothing in this movie that he would not like." As the meeting continued, Marchetti began to count noses. Of the nine people in the office, Marchetti was the only non-Jew. It reminded him of many meetings he had attended in the publishing world in New York, where often he had been the only Gentile out of a dozen or more people discussing a book project.

Marchetti's Jewish agent leaned over and asked in a whisper, "What are you thinking about?"

"Everybody in the room is Jewish except me." "Forget about that," the agent said. "You just better hope that your Jews are smarter than the studio's. We're talking big bucks."

Since then, Marchetti has had several other involvements with the Hollywood movie crowd. It was always the same. The Jews were, and remain, in control of Tinsel Town. To say otherwise is to lie.

It is bad enough when a group representing less than three percent of the American population — and many of whose members have a self-proclaimed first loyalty to a foreign nation — should be in control of so many of America's cultural, financial and governmental institutions. But it is positively insulting for them to deny their influence and power — particularly when they themselves are continually boasting in their own circles about their "over-representation" in these fields. And it is absolutely infuriating when this denial reaches the point that non-Jews are attacked by Jewish agitators and Zionist zealots for stating obvious facts and truth.

Most Americans have always been suspicious of too much power in too few hands. That's what the Constitution is all about. And that is why we have never trusted elitist groups which have tried to dictate to us. So, if we don't trust the old-line establishment, the old elite, why should we not be suspicious of the new elite — the Jewish establishment — and its excessive power in America.

Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud

A Holocaust survivor memoir that has received prestigious literary awards and lavish praise has been exposed as a hoax.

In *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*, Binjamin Wilkomirski describes his ordeal as an infant in the Jewish ghetto of Riga (Latvia), where his earliest memory is of seeing his father being killed. Wilkomirski also tells how he survived the terrible rigors of wartime internment, at the age of three or four, in the German-run concentration camps of Majdanek and Auschwitz.

First published in German in 1995, *Fragments* has been translated into twelve languages. In Switzerland, the country where Wilkomirski lives, the book has been a major best-seller. Two documentary films and numerous personal appearances by the author in schools throughout the country have helped promote the memoir.

The American edition was published by Schocken, an imprint of Random House, which heavily promoted the book with teachers' study guides and other supplementary materials.

Jewish groups and major American newspapers have warmly praised *Fragments*. The *New York Times* called it "stunning," and the *Los Angeles Times* lauded it as a "classic first-hand account of the Holocaust." It received the 1996 National Jewish Book Award for Autobiography and Memoir, while in Britain it was awarded the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize, and in France the Prix Mémoire de la Shoah.

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC — a federal government agency — was so impressed that it sent Wilkomirski on a six-city United States fund-raising tour last fall.

This past summer, though, compelling evidence came to light exposing Wilkomirski's memoir as an literary hoax.

Although he claims to have been born in Latvia in 1939, and to have arrived in Switzerland in 1947 or 1948, Swiss legal records show that he was actually born in Switzerland in February 1941, the son of an unwed woman, Yvette Grosjean. The infant was then adopted and raised by the Doessekters, a middle-class Zurich couple. Jewish author Daniel Ganzfried, writing in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche*, also reports that he has found a 1946 photo of the young Bruno Doessekter (Wilkomirski) in the garden of his adoptive parents.

Comparisons have been drawn between Wilkomirski's *Fragments* and *The Painted Bird*, the supposedly autobiographical "Holocaust memoir" by prominent literary figure Jerzy Kosinski that

turned out to be fraudulent.

Reaction by Jewish Holocaust scholars to the new revelations has been instructive, because they seem more concerned about propagandistic impact than about historical truth. Their primary regret seems merely to be that the fraud has been detected, not that it was perpetrated.

In an essay published in a major Canadian newspaper (*Ottawa Citizen*, Nov. 18, 1998), Jewish writer Judith Shulevitz arrogantly argued that it doesn't really matter much if *Fragments* is authentic. Her main misgiving, apparently, is that the deceit was not more adroit: "I can't help wishing Wilkomirski-Doesseker [sic] had been more subtle in his efforts at deception, and produced the magnificent fraud world literature deserves."

Deborah Dwork, director of the Center for Holocaust Studies at Clark University (Worcester, Mass.), and co-author of *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (Yale Univ. Press, 1996), agrees that *Fragments* now appears to be fraudulent. At the same time, though, she expressed sympathy for Wilkomirski, saying that when she met him he appeared "to be a deeply scarred man." Amazingly, Dwork does not blame him for the imposture, "because she believes in his identity." Instead, she takes the publishers to task for having "exploited" Wilkomirski. (*New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1998).

Deborah Lipstadt, author of the anti-revisionist polemic *Denying the Holocaust*, has assigned *Fragments* in her Emory University class on Holocaust memoirs. When confronted with evidence that it is a fraud, she commented that the new revelations "might complicate matters somewhat, but [the work] is still powerful."

Daniel Ganzfried reports that Jews have complained to him that even if *Fragments* is a fraud, his exposé is dangerously aiding "those who deny the Holocaust."

American Jewish writer Howard Weiss makes a similar point in an essay published in the *Chicago Jewish Star* (Oct. 9-29, 1998):

Presenting a fictional account of the Holocaust as factual only provides ammunition to those who already deny that the horrors of Nazism and the death camps ever even happened. If one account is untrue, the deniers' reasoning goes, how can we be sure any survivors



Binjamin Wilkomirski

accounts are true ... Perhaps no one was ready to question the authenticity of the [Wilkomirski] account because just about anything concerning the Holocaust becomes sacrosanct.

Wilkomirski himself has responded to the new revelations by going into hiding, although he did issue a defiant statement describing the climate of discussion about his memoir as a "poisonous" atmosphere of "totalitarian judgment and criticism."

— M. W.

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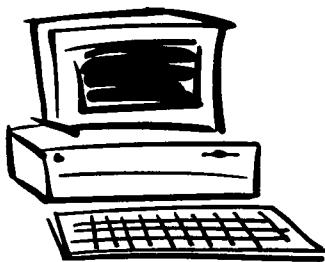
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Points of Friction

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Free Speech (Slightly Abridged)

If there is one fact about Hollywood that is beyond dispute, it's that the film industry is largely "owned by Jews," as Marlon Brando put it in an interview with (Jewish) Larry King [April 5, 1996]. You know the rest: Brando immediately learned that even so obvious a truth is unmentionable and apologized in tears. The apology made his point better than his first statement had, and the attacks continued even after he'd groveled. Some of his accusers implied that there are no Jews to speak of in Hollywood. Temperate discussion of the argument he'd been trying to make was simply impossible.

At about the same time, another Jewish fire-storm stopped publication of a new biography of Joseph Goebbels by the controversial historian David Irving, an outspoken skeptic about the received version of World War II and the Holocaust.

The uproar, which included death threats, caused St. Martin's Press to break its contract with Irving and to denounce his book as "repellent" — a judgment that had somehow never occurred to St. Martin's until pressure was applied. The London *Times* [April 5, 1996] ascribed the cancellation to "Jewish pressure," a plain assertion nowhere to be found in the American press. *Time* magazine [April 15, 1996] piously called the book "offensive to believers of all stripes," as if Seventh Day Adventists, Hindus, and Buddhists had also taken umbrage. "Offensive" books should not be published, it seems. It's edifying to find this doctrine promoted by Time-Warner, a sewer of cultural ordure.

What is unsettling about this episode is that it offers more evidence of the tightening noose on public opinion. I used to enjoy the feeling that a variety of viewpoints was always available in this country, that one could pick and choose among them. But

Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer, author (most recently of *Alias Shakespeare*), and editor of the monthly newsletter *Sobran's* (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183). "Free Speech (Slightly Abridged)" is reprinted from the May 1996 issue of *Sobran's*, and "Double Standard" is reprinted from the April 1996 *Sobran's*.

this is no longer the case. We seem to be enmeshed in a series of one-sided controversies where Jewish interests are concerned. When the Jewish establishment takes a position on a subject, it's heatedly asserted in all the major media, and little may be said on the other side.

You are left to wonder why there is another side. The denunciations of Irving's book were well-nigh unanimous, leaving you curious as to whether he or anyone else could write a long book using primary sources without having anything at all worth reading and taking into account. The study of history is a complicated process and always involves a lot of sifting. Nobody ever has the whole truth about the past; everybody has a greater or lesser share. Any errors in Irving's book could presumably have been corrected in the usual way, by the criticism of other historians. But people who hadn't read the book were determined not to let it get to that point. The public must not be allowed to see it at all.

True, Irving's book can still be taken up by other publishers — the further from New York, the more safely. But Jewish pressure and power have become a troubling and menacing factor in American public discussion. In several other Western countries it is now actually illegal to question whether the Nazi regime tried to exterminate the Jews, and Irving himself has been singled out for prosecution under the Holocaust laws. The Israeli writer Amos Elon has remarked on how strange it is, even in Israel, that a historical fact should be treated as religious dogma, and its denial as blasphemy. It's become problematic for anyone to say the Holocaust did happen, since denial or even doubt invites legal and extralegal penalties.

The Holocaust laws are only the extreme and explicit cases of a more general climate of implicit thought control. Not only principled criticism of Israel, but the mere statement of certain scandalous but indisputable facts about it is kept out of the



Joseph Sobran

mainstream media.

It isn't that Israel lags a little behind Western standards of justice; it doesn't even *aspire* to those standards. Equality for non-Jews would mean the virtual abolition of Israel.

But Jewish propagandists insist that Israel is "an integral part of the West," an ally, asset, and beleaguered sister democracy of the United States — even though it denies, in principle and in practice, that all men are created equal.

In other countries Zionist Jews claim for themselves the equal rights they refuse to extend to others in the Jewish state. Their famous "liberalism" is merely a tactic for use where Jews are a minority — a way of disarming gentile nationalism while preserving their own.

One index of a group's power is its ability to impose a double standard in its own favor. By this measure, the Jewish establishment is very powerful indeed. We've come to accept its routine censorship of discussion in America. Nobody dares say that something is amiss when a publisher is intimidated into canceling publication of a book. In fact, I didn't notice a single expression of alarm about the threats of death.

Double Standard

The *Weekly Standard*, the new voice of Respectable Conservatism, keeps showing its true colors. A recent book review by one Frederic Raphael flays T. S. Eliot for anti-Semitism and winds up making a wider and equally bitter attack on Christendom itself. I've often wondered just what "anti-Semitism" means nowadays. I should have known the answer. It means Christianity.

Reviewing a new study of Eliot by a British Jew named Anthony Julius, Raphael observes that the whole history of Jewish-Christian relations is "a long story of one-sided malevolence," beginning with "the Fathers of the Church," infecting all of Western European culture, and culminating in the Holocaust. Anti-Semitism, according to Raphael, informs "the whole language of Western thought." (If so, why single out Eliot?)

Raphael doesn't state the practical conclusion, but it's obvious enough: *Christianity must be destroyed*. If its whole tendency is to produce mass murder, if it reached its only natural fulfillment at Auschwitz, what other inference is possible?

This is a widely held view among Jews, who have rarely condemned the Communist persecution of Christianity in the tones they reserve for the Nazi persecution of Jews; but it is generally felt imprudent to say it openly to a Christian majority. The old European phrase "Jewish Bolshevism" indicated keen popular awareness of the animus behind the

Soviet regime's mass murders of priests, who were hardly "capitalists"; and equating Jewry with Communism was no more unfair than equating Christendom with Nazism.

Jewish hatred of Christianity still surfaces now and then; a few years ago another neoconservative magazine, *Commentary*, ran long diatribes blaming the Holocaust on Christianity — one by the fanatical Hyam Maccoby, who wrote a book to the same effect. Many Jewish readers wrote in to express their fervent agreement and their delighted surprise that someone would put their thoughts in print. "Messianic" Jews — Jewish Christians — are the object of special loathing in the Jewish community and forfeit the normal right of Jews to Israeli citizenship.

The hatred of Christianity is enshrined in the tax-supported National Holocaust Museum in Washington. Museum tours begin with a short film on the origins of anti-Semitism, which it traces to the Gospels — a frequent theme in intramural Jewish writing. When some Christians objected to the film three years ago, Alan Keyes, the recent presidential candidate, wrote a piece in the *Washington Times* defending the charge as essentially true.

The truth is that the Gospels show the Jewish leaders and the Jewish mob as seeking Christ's death, but hardly the Jews as a whole; the Gospels were largely written by Jews, and many if not most of the first Christians were Greek-speaking Jews. Does anyone deny that the Jewish establishment was hostile to Christianity? That hostility forms the background of the Acts of the Apostles, where the early Christians are constantly shown as seeking secrecy "for fear of the Jews." No matter how fiercely the accuracy of the New Testament is attacked, it is hard to explain why all this would have been invented if the Jews had been generally tolerant of the Christian community.

The "long story of one-sided malevolence" is further complicated by the obscene fables of Christ in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. Yet Jews have generally migrated to Christian lands and found tolerance in them. It's hardly credible that they would have chosen to live in countries where they were singled out for hatred.

Christians have sometimes treated Jews shamefully; but they are ashamed of this precisely because it is un-Christian. If hating Jews were compatible with Christianity, Jewish charges of anti-Semitism would carry no sting. In point of fact, Jews have become skillful at "working" the Christian conscience and instilling a guilt they seldom feel about their own treatment of Christians where Jews have had the upper hand, as in Israel today. How many Jews have called on their Israeli brethren to treat Christians as equals?

It is not "malevolence" that is one-sided, but guilt. Christians are judged by Christian standards, and are condemned; Jews are judged by Jewish standards, and are excused. This double standard is implicit in nearly all contemporary Jewish-Christian "dialogue," and forms the unspoken ground rules of the outwardly cordial relations between Christian conservatives and Jewish neoconservatives.

The ancient Jewish hostility is also happily diluted by humanity. It would be unfair and unrealistic to suggest that most Jews hate Christians in America. They have too many Christian friends and even, with the increase of intermarriage, relatives; in fact, half of American Jews now marry gentiles. Ordinary decency, kindness, and practical need have a pleasant way of qualifying abstract principles. Sometimes love does conquer all.

But there is little in the roots of Jewish tradition to encourage respect for Christianity as such, and a great deal to discourage it. Even the most well-meaning Jews are noticeably reserved about saying anything in direct praise of Christianity, just as the most malevolent are inhibited by their minority status from expressing their hatred. The Jew who speaks well of Christianity earns contempt within his own community; the Jew who dares to speak ill

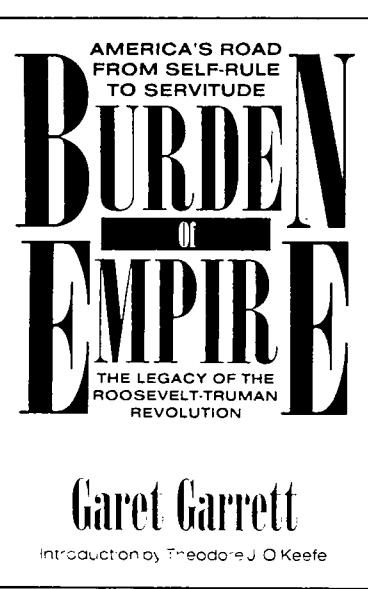
of it earns admiration for his courage.

This is the admiration Raphael is bidding for. The notable fact is that his attack on a Christian cultural icon, and the entire Christian tradition, has found a welcome in *The Weekly Standard*, which it striving to be the new voice of American conservatism, and not just the "neo" kind. Apparently the goyish readership isn't expected to take offense, or even to notice. Far from fearing anti-Semitism, the neoconservatives take for granted that Christian enmity toward Jews is too far gone to be rekindled — that any malevolence is indeed one-sided, and no longer has anything to fear.

While neoconservatives seek to make alliances with the pro-Israel Christian Right, and even defend people like Pat Robertson against charges of anti-Semitism leveled by other Jews, you will search their writing in vain for a good word about Christianity itself, which has apparently made no positive contribution to Western culture that might redeem it from its genocidal essence. Temporary alliances with Christians in no way imply respect for the Christian religion.

The few neoconservatives who credit Christianity with any virtues ascribe them solely to its Jewish roots. In their view, Jesus Christ added nothing worthwhile to the world. In Israel, where Jews may

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speak less guardedly, Christians are called "idolators." A few years ago the first performance of Handel's *Messiah* in Israel was fiercely protested: the work consists mostly of Old Testament verses prophesying Jesus.

All this may come as a shock to those Christians who, cooing about the "Judeao-Christian tradition," assume that their neocon friends reciprocate their warm sentiments and share their basic attitudes on morality. Most neocons are indifferent or faintly derisive toward "social issues" and voice few objections to legal abortion. Their passion is for foreign policy and American global hegemony, directed always to the welfare of Israel.

For the time being, the deep and abiding Jewish hostility to Christianity is complicated by the immediate Islamic threat to Israel. This requires the solicitation of Christian support for the Jewish state, which, however, never goes so far as to allow concessions to Christians in Israel, where non-Jews can never be full citizens. One of the most remarkable successes of Zionist propaganda has been its ability to distract attention from the direct opposition of Israeli principles to American and Christian principles of law and justice. In fact, almost nobody in the conservative movement has pointed out that American Jewry supports in Israel the very racial inequalities it denounces in America.

At the same time, the neocons are alarmed by the more open hostility to Christian culture of Jews in Hollywood and the New York-Washington media. They see no reason to antagonize the goyim while Israel's fate is at stake.

The most notable feature of the neocon attack on Pat Buchanan this winter was that Israel was barely mentioned, except in coded allusions to "isolationism" — though Israel was uppermost, as always, in the minds of the powerful and vocal Jews who wanted to destroy him. Buchanan was above all an outspoken advocate of a Christian America, which would put its own interests first and concentrate on repairing its badly damaged moral and social fabric.

The neocons are "neo" in their attachment to post-New Deal America rather than to the America of the Founders. Though they deplore some liberal excesses, they have no desire to restore the old constitutional and federal system, America's *ancien régime*, in which "isolationism" was the application of limited government to foreign policy.

From the neocon point of view, Buchanan's Christian patriot agenda would have been disastrous — notwithstanding the many "issues" on which the neocons profess agreement with Buchanan's positions. If you differ with them on Israel, areas of ostensible agreement, however numerous, count for nothing. That alone would justify the

diabolization of Buchanan, but he went far beyond mere disagreement about Israel. He appeared to them as the arch-goy, the uppity Catholic, a new Father Coughlin (to whom he was often compared).

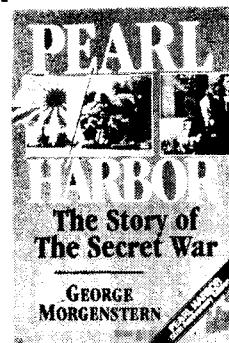
Yet the neocons' real agenda has to be largely concealed, so they roared about secondary matters like free trade and immigration. Again, in America they support liberal immigration policies they would absolutely oppose in Israel, where ethnic purity is the sovereign principle — and American aid will soon help build the sort of barrier to unwanted immigrants the neocons have blasted Buchanan for advocating along the Mexican border.

Printing the Raphael review was a momentary indiscretion for *The Weekly Standard*. But the very fact that it was deemed printable at all shows its congruence with the neocons' inmost attitudes, which are usually kept under wraps. For the time being, Christianity must be tolerated — for Israel's sake.

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— George Bernard Shaw,
"The Author's Apology" (1902)

A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

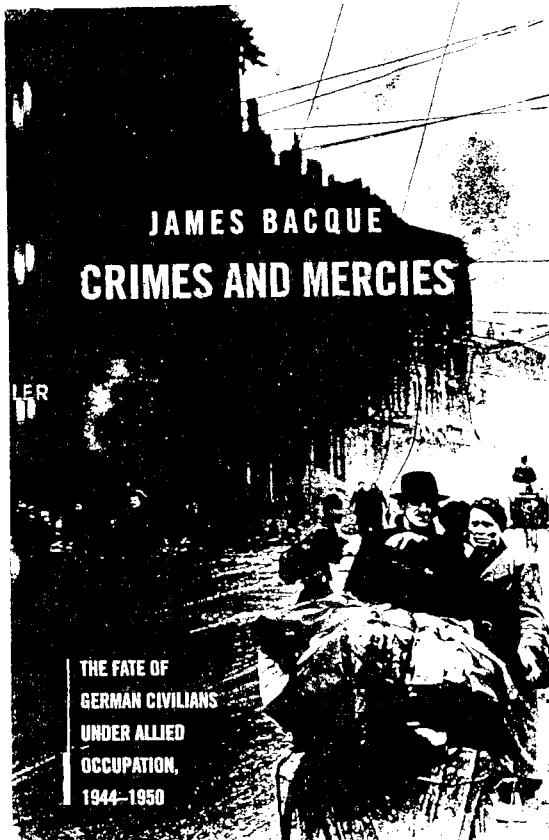
In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

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Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.



Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

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American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees* (now titled *The Terrible Secret*), provides a valuable foreword.

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Unprecedented US Aid to Israel Began Under the Sinai Agreements

DONALD NEFF

On January 18, 1974, Egypt and Israel signed an armistice agreement officially ending their 1973 war. The agreement became known as Sinai I because it was signed in the Sinai peninsula and involved Israel's occupation of that strategic desert.¹ Sinai I had been achieved after a heavily publicized week of shuttling between the two countries by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who for his efforts was hailed in the US media as the Superman of diplomacy. It was only later that American taxpayers would learn that Sinai I laid the groundwork for the start of unprecedented massive aid to Israel by the United States, which continues to this day.

The aid program to Israel has amounted to the largest voluntary transfer of wealth and technology in history, far more than all American aid given to rehabilitate Western Europe under the Marshall Plan after World War II.²

Sinai I was widely hailed in the West as a major diplomatic accomplishment. The Arab world more realistically considered it merely a modest first step in ending Israel's occupation of Arab lands, held since 1967 and some of which remain under Israeli occupation today. Under the pact, Israel agreed to withdraw its forces west of the Suez Canal, thus liberating the Egyptian Third Army, which had remained surrounded by Israeli troops since the October war, and withdraw all its forces back 15 miles from the eastern side of the canal to positions west of the Gidi and Mitla passes. Between the two armies would be stationed a United Nations peace force.³

While Kissinger's diplomatic prowess was loudly credited in the United States for Sinai I, it was actually a secret agreement that he signed with Israel that had achieved the breakthrough. This secret commitment foreshadowed what was to become America's huge aid program to Israel. The covert Memorandum of Understanding contained ten

Donald Neff is author of several books on US-Middle East relations, including the 1995 study, *Fallen Pillars: U.S. Policy Toward Palestine and Israel Since 1945*, and his 1988 *Warriors* trilogy. This article is reprinted from the January-February 1997 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).

detailed points, the most important being a far-reaching pledge that Washington would be responsive to Israel's defense needs on a "continuing and long-term basis."⁴

The potential massive dimensions of that pledge began to become clear less than two years later when Kissinger, after another highly publicized shuttle between Cairo and Jerusalem, achieved what became known as Sinai II, signed on September 4, 1975.⁵ The agreement was especially favorable to Israel, and considerably less so to Egypt. The major article involving Egypt committed that most powerful of Arab countries to abstain from the use of force to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, meaning in the words of scholar Abdel Safty: "Thus, the agreement marked Egypt's military abandonment of its commitment to the right to liberate occupied Arab territories."⁶

"The aid program to Israel has amounted to the largest voluntary transfer of wealth and technology in history ..."

For the Arabs, there was the bitter realization that Israel's continued occupation of their territory was against official US policy and the major instruments guiding international civilized behavior since World War II: the UN Charter and the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Yet it was Israel, not Egypt, that profited far more from Kissinger's diplomacy.

Kissinger made no effort to demand that the occupation end in exchange for the treasury he was about to give Israel. Instead he assured Israel a level of annual aid at around \$2 billion for the next five years and opened to Israel a cornucopia of other US assets never imagined by the average US taxpayer.⁷ The irony was that the amount of aid was of such magnitude that it allowed Israel to maintain the very occupation that the United States said it opposed.

It goes without enumeration that the staggering amount of money given to Israel would have been of significant impact in helping America address its

own domestic problems, especially those in the ghettos of the crumbling cities.

Secret Understandings

Kissinger's series of secret understandings included a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with Israel in which he committed the United States to "make every effort to be fully responsive ... on an on-going and long-term basis to Israel's military equipment and other defense requirements, to its energy requirements and to its economic needs." This was made at a time when the US economy itself was reeling under the staggering costs of the oil boycott, which in turn had been imposed as a direct result of Washington's ostentatious support of Israel during the 1973 war.

The memorandum also officially committed American support against threats by a "world power," meaning the nuclear-equipped Soviet Union, and among other things promised:

- America would guarantee for five years that Israel would be able to obtain all its domestic oil needs, from the United States if necessary.
- America would pay for construction in Israel of storage facilities capable of storing a one-year's supply of reserve oil needs.
- America would conclude contingency planning to transport military supplies to Israel during an emergency.
- America shared Israel's position that any negotiations with Jordan would be for an overall peace settlement, that is, there would be no attempt at step-by-step diplomacy on the West Bank.

• In a secret addendum to the secret MOU, America promised that the administration would submit every year to Congress a request for both economic and military aid for Israel. It also asserted that the "United States is resolved to continue to maintain Israel's defensive strength through the supply of advanced types of equipment, such as the F-16 aircraft." In addition, America agreed to study the transfer of "high technology and sophisticated items, including the Pershing ground-to-ground missile," which is usually used to deliver atomic warheads.

• In another secret memorandum, Kissinger committed America not to "recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization as long as the Palestine Liberation Organization does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."⁸ This language was passed into law by Congress in 1985.

• The United States would coordinate fully on strategy for any future meetings of the Geneva Conference. Thus, with Israel and the United States refusing to recognize the PLO and with powerful groups within the PLO refusing to accept Resolu-



Henry Kissinger guided US foreign policy as Secretary of State (1973-1977) in the Nixon and Ford administrations. His secret agreements with Israel resulted in the Sinai accords and unprecedented US economic support to Israel.

tions 242 and 338, the stalemate on the West Bank was set in concrete, much to Israel's satisfaction.

• In a separate secret letter signed by President Ford, the United States promised Israel that it would not put forward any peace proposals without first discussing them with the Israelis. This was a significant concession since it gave Israel, in effect, a direct input to formulation of US policy in the Middle East.⁹

• In addition, President Ford signed a secret letter promising that the United States "will lend great importance to Israel's position that any peace treaty with Syria must be based on Israel's remaining on the Golan Heights."¹⁰

For this colossal commitment of US wealth, technology and diplomatic support, Israel agreed to withdraw its forces between 20 to 40 miles east of the Suez Canal. This left well over half of Sinai under continuing Israeli occupation. Israel's major concession was to give up Egypt's oil fields, which lay on the western edge of the Sinai. The withdrawal resulted in Israeli forces being deployed east of the Gidi and Mitla passes, which were turned into observation posts. The United States pledged to set up and pay for stations manned by 200 Americans to protect both sides from violations. The arrange-

ment replaced United Nations peacekeepers, who Israel opposed as being prejudiced against it even though UN reports from the field had proved to be rigorously objective over the decades.¹¹

Defense Minister Shimon Peres summed up the benefits to Israel of Sinai II: "The ... agreement [assures] us arms, money, a coordinated policy with Washington and quiet in Sinai ... We gave up a little to get a lot."¹²

Indeed, there is no example in history when one nation granted to another such enormous amounts of wealth and array of commitments as Henry Kissinger's Sinai II agreement. This perhaps help explain the tantalizing reference to Kissinger in the memoirs of Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister at the time of Sinai II, in which he wrote: "The story of Kissinger's contribution to Israel's security has yet to be told, and for the present suffice it to say that it was of prime importance."¹³

Notes

1. Henry A. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), pp. 809-821. The text is in: Edward R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger: A Secret History of American Diplomacy in the Middle East* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1976), Appendix Six.
2. Robert W. Gibson, *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1987. Gibson reports that by fiscal year 1988, total US aid to Israel since 1948 had equalled in inflation-adjusted dollars \$58.8 billion. Under the Marshall Plan, Congress in 1947 voted some \$12 billion to be given to friendly European countries to rebuild their war-ravaged economies. The major difference with US aid to Israel is that Marshall Plan aid was limited to a three-and-a-half-year period, while aid to Israel has been open-ended both in terms of time and amounts. Moreover, all aid to Israel since 1985 has been in the form of nonrepayable grants, averaging \$3 billion a year in economic and military funds.
3. Mahmoud Riad, *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (New York: Quartet Books, 1981), pp. 274-275. Also see: Adel Safty, *From Camp David to the Gulf: Negotiations, Language & Propaganda, and War* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1992), pp. 55-56.
4. E. R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (cited above), p. 112. Also see: William B. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 228.
5. Text of the agreement and of the MOU and its secret addenda are in: Meron Medzini, *Israel's Foreign Relations: Selected Documents, 1974-1977, vol. 3* (Jerusalem: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982), pp. 281-290. Also see: E. R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (cited above), Appendix Eight.
6. Adel Safty, *From Camp David to the Gulf* (cited above), pp. 56-57.
7. Over the next five years the State Department reported total aid to Israel equalled \$1.742 billion in 1977, \$1.792 billion in 1978, \$4.790 billion in 1979 (reflecting the costs to move Israel out of the Sinai, where it had no right to be in the first place), \$1.786 billion in 1980, and \$2.164 billion in 1981. See *The New York Times*, August 8, 1982. By contrast, total US aid to Israel in fiscal 1970 had totaled less than \$100 million.
8. Text is in: Aryeh Y. Yodfat, and Yuval Arnon-Ohanna, *PLO: Strategy and Tactics* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 191, and, E. R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (cited above), pp. 256-57.
9. W. B. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions* (cited above), p. 201.
10. The text is in: *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1991, pp. 183-184.
11. Donald Neff, *Warriors Against Israel: How Israel Won the Battle to Become America's Ally 1973* (Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1988), pp. 302-303; E. R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (cited above), p. 190.
12. E. R. E. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (cited above), p. 192. Peres refused to be identified as the source of the quote, which originally appeared in *Time* magazine. However, I was head of the *Time* bureau in Jerusalem during this period, and Peres made the statement to one of my reporters.
13. Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), p. 261.



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The Holocaust Museum's 'Black Liberators' Fraud

Those who promote what Jewish-American scholar Michael Goldberg calls "the Holocaust cult" (in his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*) have for decades sought to make the story more "relevant" and "meaningful" for non-Jewish Americans by appealing to patriotic sentiments. This has meant, for example, emphasizing the role of American troops as liberators of German concentration camps during the final weeks of the Second World War.

Adding to this, Holocaust campaigners have sought to appeal to the racial sensitivities of African-Americans by promoting the story that two all-black US army units — the 761st Tank Battalion and the 183rd Combat Engineers Battalion — liberated the infamous Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps in April 1945. In its issue of May 31, 1988, *The New York Times* reported, for the first time, that black GIs had liberated Dachau and Buchenwald. The paper cited African-American leader Jesse Jackson as the source.

This story was given much greater prominence in late 1992 with the release of *Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II*, issued as a much-touted "documentary" film and as a lavishly-illustrated book. In the film, two black veterans of the 761st "recalled" their role in liberating Dachau, ramming their tanks against the camp gates and encountering enemy machine gun fire from a burning barn. Also in the film, two elderly Jews who had been inmates in Buchenwald "recounted" their liberation by black GIs.

The "highlight" of the film, reported the *Newsletter* of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, is a "deeply moving reunion" at Buchenwald of former inmate Benjamin Bender "with two of his libera-

tors," E. G. McConnell and Leonard Smith. Actually, this "moving reunion" is a staged fraud. "It's a lie," confirmed McConnell in 1993. "We were nowhere near these camps when they were liberated ... I first went to Buchenwald in 1991 with PBS [television], not the 761st." No black troops participated in the liberation of either Buchenwald or Dachau.

All this has been known since 1993. The "black liberators" fable was dissected, for example, in a four-page report, "Multi-Media 'Liberators' Project Exposed as Fraud," published in the May-June 1993 *Journal*. But in spite of the 1993 revelations, the US Holocaust Museum — a federal government center operated by the taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Council — has continued to propagate this fraud.

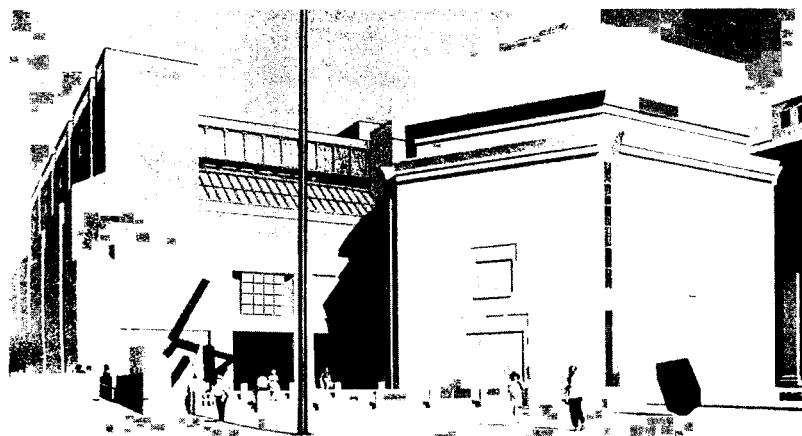
"The Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, is perpetrating a falsehood; and, worst of all, it knows it," wrote Mark Schulte recently in *The Weekly Standard* (August 10-17, 1998, p. 20), an influential "neo-conservative" magazine. On the second floor of the Museum's permanent exhibition, visitors can view a ten-minute movie. "Spliced into footage of Dachau's liberation on April 29, 1945," *The Weekly Standard* report goes on, "are several photographs of Buchenwald [showing black GIs] taken five days after the camp's liberation, when a small contingent from the 183rd Combat Engineers delivered water purification equipment."

Similarly, two books published with the cooperation and approval of the US Holocaust Museum also perpetrate the "black liberators" story. In a lavishly illustrated 1993 guide book, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, author (and Museum official) Michael Berenbaum includes a large photograph (page 188) showing black GIs, identified as "American liberators," in the Buchenwald camp on "April 11, 1945." In fact, this photo-

graph was taken five days after the camp's liberation. This same photo, with a similarly deceitful caption, is also published in *Liberation 1945*, another work produced in cooperation with the Holocaust Museum.

At the time of the Museum's opening in 1993, Jewish writer Melvin Jules Bukiet aptly noted: "It's not Jewish tragedy that's remembered on the Mall this week; it's Jewish power to which homage is paid." (*The Washington Post*, April 18, 1993, p. C3). Given the Museum's origins, and the character of those who run it, deceitful history — of which the "black liberators" story is only one example — is fully to be expected.

— M.W.



The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.

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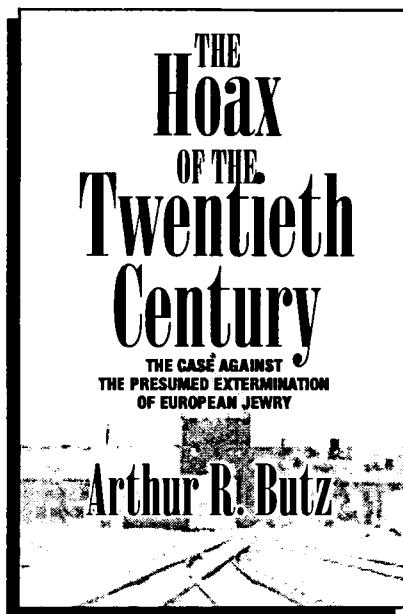
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The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

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may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by persons who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

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Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City.



He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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Much 'Holocaust' But No History: The Failure of Rabbi Berenbaum

The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the Reexamined, edited by Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum [Washington, DC]), 1998. Hardcover. 851 pages (xv+836). Source references. Index. \$65.00

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

Michael Berenbaum, co-editor of this collection of essays, is a theologian and a rabbi. His personal drama arises from having wished, for several years, to pose as a historian, and from finding himself now, with the publication of this book, to be the plain and simple theologian and rabbi who, in reality, he has never ceased to be. Until rather recently (1993-early 1994) he had tried to reply to the revisionists on their own terms, that is, on the basis of material, technical and scholarly arguments: in short, on the level of historical research.

But in this 1998 work there is no more of all that: here we are back to the "Holocaust" dogma, amid statements made without substantiating evidence in a quasi-immortal world. No longer is anything "disputed" or "reexamined," except certain near-theological points, like the question of whether the "intentionalists" or the "functionalists" are right in their interpretations of the Germans' "genocide" of the Jews. *This work offers not one photograph, model, drawing or document.* Only on the dust jacket does there appear a photograph, that of a heap of shoes. Already in 1993 this image could be viewed at the Washington Holocaust Museum, with the caption: "We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses."

Berenbaum Gives Up on History

In the 1980s and early '90s, several advocates of the "Holocaust" argument tried to adopt an approach based on scholarly and historical reason-

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

ing, if only to counter the revisionists. This was the stance of Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon, and Serge Klarsfeld (with the aid of the pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac). Even Michael Berenbaum engaged in this pursuit, first in his 1993 Museum guidebook,

The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and then in a 1994 book he co-edited (with Yisrael Gutman), containing essays of 25 contributors: *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, published by Indiana University Press in association with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

But, in August 1994, an event was to disrupt Berenbaum's life. He allowed me to visit him in his office at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in the presence of two other high-level Museum officials. Having taken note of his arrogant attitude, I decided to spare him nothing and, before his two colleagues, I spelled out for him, one by one, certain facts that showed the Museum and his book to be devoid of any scholarly or demonstrative value. In response he became quite angry, and ended up telling me that if the Museum exhibited no real material representation of a gas chamber (the door on display therein being that of a delousing gas chamber, and the model a mere whimsical mock-up), it was because "the decision has been made not to give any physical representation of the gas chambers."

That interview probably contributed to his more recent decision to abandon the scholarly and historical terrain to the revisionists. It is also likely that the 1995-96 writings of anti-revisionist authors convinced him that the case for the "Holocaust," with its purported genocide and gas chambers, had become completely indefensible on the scholarly and historical level.

One such author, French journalist and histo-



Michael Berenbaum



A casting of this “gas chamber” door from the Majdanek camp in Poland has been on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. In his 1993 book, *The World Must Know* (p. 138), Museum official Michael Berenbaum describes this “casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek... from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole.” In fact, as French anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has acknowledged, this was a door of a non-homicidal delousing chamber used to disinfect clothing. For more on this, see “Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum,” in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 39.

rian Eric Conan, reluctantly admitted that my discovery of the late '70s was legitimate: the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp, visited by millions of tourists since 1948, is merely an imposture and not a “reconstruction.” (See “Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal,” *L'Express* [Paris], Jan. 19-25, 1995, esp. p. 68. See also: “Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud,” Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, p. 23.)

Another anti-revisionist writer, Robert Jan van Pelt (who had collaborated with Berenbaum on the 1994 collective work), aligned himself with Conan's

position, and even reinforced it, in his 1996 study, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (with Debórah Dwork, Yale Univ. Press, 1996, esp. pp. 363-64, 367-69).

The *coup de grâce* was delivered by French historian Jacques Baynac who, in spite of his intense hostility to revisionism, came to recognize that there was no evidence at all with which to establish the existence of wartime homicidal gas chambers. (*Le Nouveau Quotidien* [Lausanne, Switzerland], issues of September 2 and 3, 1996. See: “An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is no Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers,” July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28.)

The Victory of Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann

Concerning the “Holocaust” or “Shoah,” Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann (giving credit where it is due) have always avoided the scholarly historical method as they would the plague. In his memoir the former has written “Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination” (*All Rivers Run to the Sea*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1994, p. 74), while Lanzmann has stated that, if he had been able to find suitable archival photographs for his film “Shoah,” he would have “destroyed them” (David Szerman, “Shoah,” *Le Chroniqueur* [a French Jewish community periodical], June 30, 1993, p. 38).

For his part, historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has, in a way, followed their recommendations. His much-discussed 1996 work, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, is a kind of moral or philosophical dissertation in which the author deliberately neglects the precept that every historian should strive to uphold: to establish the material facts before making any commentary.

The Rabbi's Wrath, And His Warning

For this latest book Michael Berenbaum has enrolled 54 authors under his banner. The great majority of them are Jewish, and all, including Raul Hilberg, respect the religious dogma of the “Holocaust” to the letter. I consider Hilberg to be gifted, as Arthur Butz has put it, with “a remarkable cabalistic mentality” (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* [IHR, 1976/1997], p. 7). Berenbaum has even rallied to his camp Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, who at times has suffered from lapses of independence. In 1992, for example, Bauer suddenly rejected the importance of the Wannsee conference, declaring: “It was a meeting, but hardly a conference ... little of what was said there was executed in detail.” He continued: “The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at. Wannsee was but a stage in the unfolding of the process of mass murder.”

("Wannsee's importance rejected," *The Canadian Jewish News*, Jan. 30, 1992).

But in this new book, which contains a contribution by Bauer, that gathering is referred to (p. 155) as "the eventful Wannsee Conference."

In his contribution to this work, Bauer goes so far as to anathematize Arno Mayer, a professor at Princeton University who, in a book published in 1988, made no secret of his wish to put the "Holocaust" back into the sphere of History. Entitled *Why Did the Heavens not Darken?* (New York: Pantheon), it bore the subtitle *The "Final Solution" in History*, which, in the author's mind, meant "in History and not in legend or mere belief." In that book — and this point deserves stressing — Prof. Mayer committed a grave sin against the dogma, particularly in his treatment of the "gas chambers," of Auschwitz, and of the *Einsatzgruppen*. In *The Holocaust and History* (p. 15) Bauer dismisses Mayer in a few words, castigating his popularization of "nonsense," his "cocksure" book, and of engaging in a "subtle form of Holocaust denial." Bauer even states that Mayer "flies in the face of well-known documentation."

Also in this anthology, Polish historian Franciszek Piper issues a warning to anyone who might be tempted to engage in an endeavor that, not so long ago, he himself engaged in: that of rationally analyzing the facts and techniques relating to the alleged extermination of the Jews. Thus one may read (p. 384) these words from the pen of Poland's specialist of the Auschwitz camp: "The work ahead requires sensitive attention to the tragedy of the victims and forbids reduction of genocide to a technological process." His master's voice (that of Rabbi Berenbaum) can be heard here.

The Title's Meaning

In choosing *The Holocaust and History* as the title for his new book, editor Berenbaum naturally intended the reader to understand that the "Holocaust" was a historical event. It so happens, though, that the title he selected is, from his own point of view, rather unfortunate because of its unintentionally revealing quality. In effect, the word "and" by itself shows, without his having intended it, that the "Holocaust" is one thing, and History another thing altogether. The "Holocaust" is a fiction, a dogma, a religion. History is, or at least should be, a matter of facts, reason, and science.

This patchwork of texts by 55 writers (Hilberg's contribution dates from 1993) is merely an assortment of essays containing much "Holocaust" but no History. With regard to the aforementioned *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a work co-edited by Berenbaum and published in 1994 that consists of 25 contributions, I have had occasion to say that



Robert Faurisson

this is rather a "Cacophony on the Auschwitz 'Death Camp'." With regard to this new work, published four years later and consisting of 55 contributions, I shall certainly not speak of cacophony. This ensemble's members are in unison; all are playing the same score. We are in a synagogue; chorus and orchestra obey, closely and strictly following Rabbi Berenbaum's baton. It is everything that one could expect in such a setting: a religious assembly, a ceremony, the celebration of a service. But it is definitely not a seminar of historians, nor a historical work.

— August 12, 1998

Only a Facade

"Today democracy is a facade of plutocracy. Because the peoples will not tolerate naked plutocracy, power is nominally turned over to them, while real power rests in the hands of the plutocrats. In democracies, whether republican or monarchical, the statesmen are marionettes, and the capitalists are the wire pullers: they dictate the political guidelines, they control the voters by buying public opinion, through business and social connections [they control] higher government officials ... The plutocracy of today is more powerful than the aristocracy of the past, because nothing stands above it except the state, which is its tool and helper."

— Count Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, "Pan-european" publicist and political figure, in his book *Praktischer Idealismus ("Practical Idealism")*, Vienna, 1925.

Letters

Open Minded

Checked out your web site. Quite thought provoking. Will follow up on your references. Not totally sold on your views, but I am open minded. My study of World War II dates back to when I was eight years old (I'm now 31). I am always looking for new info on all aspects of the war. Glad to find you.

C. L.
[by Internet]

No Particular Reason

Here is a book order and, for no particular reason except that you deserve a thousand times this amount, a contribution of \$50. Best wishes.

G. A. K.
Baltimore, Md.

Avoid Demeaning Language

I have only recently been attracted to revisionism, and am still searching for answers. As a newcomer, I'd like to pass on an observation that might help strengthen your credibility. The scholarly nature of your work is severely diminished when your writers include demeaning or suggestive language such as "Jewish beanie" or "our traditional enemies." There are less demeaning ways of describing a yarmulke, and if you choose to accuse the ADL or some other group, why not call them by name?

Good luck in your defense efforts. [\$100 donation enclosed]

N. K.
New York City

Maintain and Expand

Your review of MacDonald's book, *Separation and its Discontents* is excellent [May-June 1998 issue]. In addition to the *Journal*, your book service and web site fulfill an important role. I hope you can manage to maintain, and

expand, all three. I greatly admire your difficult but important work.

W. G.
Tallahassee, Florida

Devotee of the Late Tsar

I'm of Jewish ancestry (converted to Christianity), but I agree with the views and aims of the IHR. I am a devotee of the late Tsar of Russia, and I like the book reprinted by the IHR, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, by Robert Wilton. Keep up the good work.

Annette M.
[by internet]

Lindbergh's Place in History

A good example of historical distortion and brainwashing in our society can be found in a new book by Reeve Lindbergh, the youngest of the six children of Charles Lindbergh, the famous aviator, and Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Portions of her book, *Under a Wing*, also appear in *The New Yorker* (Aug. 24 and 31, 1998). Reeve, a novelist and author of children's books, writes about growing up as a child of one of America's most famous personalities, including the legacy of his heroic May 1927 trans-Atlantic solo flight, and the much-publicized kidnapping and murder in 1932 of his first child. "... When I got to Radcliffe, in 1963," she recounts, "I found out that the flight and the kidnapping were much less interesting to other students than my father's prewar activities were. Some of my friends confessed that they were surprised to find that they liked me, considering that my father was a Fascist."

She also discusses the speeches made by her father in 1941 on behalf of the America First Committee, the main organization opposed to United States involvement in the war then rag-

ing in Europe. Reeve Lindbergh relates that she was "devastated" when she first heard a recording of her father's widely criticized speech in Des Moines on September 11, 1941, in which he named the "powerful elements" that were pushing America into war. The groups, he said, "responsible for changing our national policy from one of neutrality and independence to one of entanglement in European affairs ... are the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration." Upon hearing this, writes Reeve, "I was transfixed and horrified, ablaze with shame and fury."

In fact, what her father had said was precisely the truth.

Perhaps Miss Lindbergh is unaware that in 1941, especially after the outbreak of war between Germany and the USSR, the vast majority of Americans wanted no involvement in a war to make the world safe for Bolshevism. That's why her father's 1941 speeches were delivered to enthusiastic overflow audiences.

If Lindbergh and the America First Committee had been successful in frustrating Roosevelt's campaign to involve us in war, we would have been spared not only the American casualties of the Second World War, and, in all probability, nearly half a century of the dangerous and costly "cold war."

Instead of "shame and fury," Reeve Lindbergh should take pride in her father's brave and principled stand.

Charles E. Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or send us your e-mail at editor@ihr.org

The War that Never Ends

Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words — and the deeds — of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The establishment which rules ordinary Americans needs to keep World War II alive — in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought America *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*.

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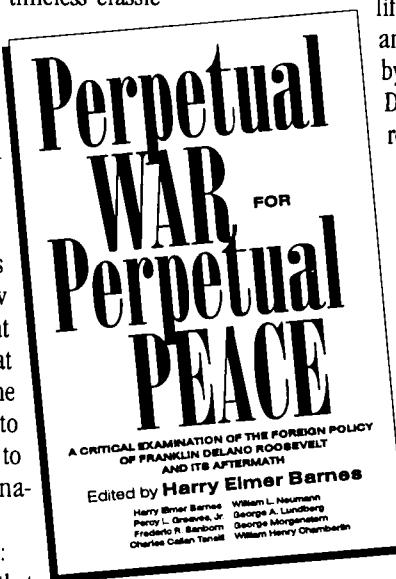
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In this concise, eye-opening book, British Parliament member Arthur Ponsonby deftly exposes the most scurrilous propaganda tales of the 1914-1918 war.

To maintain popular enthusiasm and support for the four-year slaughter of the First World War, British, French, and (later) American propagandists tirelessly depicted their German adversaries as vicious criminal "Huns," and portrayed the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, as a rapacious, lunatic monster in human form.

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- The "martyrdom" of Nurse Cavell.

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The Journal of Historical Review

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An Open Letter to Russia's Jewish Elite

Eduard Topol

The Hoax Ends the 20th Century

Arthur R. Butz

'Ah, How Sweet it is to be Jewish ...'

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The Adelaide Institute Conference

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Germany Pays Billions in Third Reich Reparations

Prison Sentence for Spanish 'Thought Criminal'

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Israel's 'Ethnic Bomb' Research

— And More —

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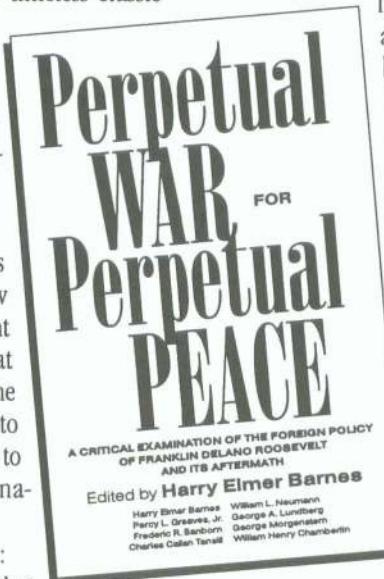
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The Journal of Historical Review

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On the cover:

Russian President Boris Yeltsin with US President Bill Clinton.

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The Hoax Ends the Twentieth Century

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

*Delivered at the Adelaide Institute conference
in Australia, August 7-9, 1998*

Thank you, Dr. Toben, Ladies and gentlemen. I am particularly glad to see that the distinguished guests include John Bennett, whom I call the "grandpappy of revisionism in Australia." His annual *Your Rights* booklet has made it the case that Australia is the only country in which revisionist material has been consistently and readily available to the general public.

Regrettably others, above all Robert Faurisson, are missing for reasons I will discuss. Happily some of those who have been prevented from being here will participate on a remote basis.

There are two reasons why I have been chosen to give this particular talk. First my book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1976, is today referred to by some as a revisionist "classic." Second, as I said, many other candidates can't be here on account of the terror.

The 'Terror'

I look back fondly to 1979 when the only legal action against my revisionist writings (thus far anyway) took place. In Germany "X-rating" is controlled by a government agency, which "indexes" literature deemed "dangerous to youth." The domain of this agency is not restricted to pornography but includes much that is considered dangerous on political grounds. In 1979 the German translation of my book was indexed, implying restrictions on the ways it could legally be sold that amounted to a ban. As I say, that has been the only legal action against my writings. I thought the action was an outrage but, as I say, I now look back fondly to 1979 because things have gotten much worse since then, and people now serve prison terms for the sorts of things I have done. At the minimum, they can be excluded from

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. He is the author of numerous technical papers. This text is copyright © 1998 by the Adelaide Institute, P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia (Web site: <http://www.adam.com.au/fredadin/adins.html>)



Arthur R. Butz

places such as Australia.

Robert Faurisson is not here because the Australian government decided he is of "bad character" on account of convictions for offenses in France, notably contravention of the Fabius-Gayssot law of 1990, which forbids contesting any "crime against humanity" as claimed in the 1946 judgment of the big Nuremberg trial. British historian David Irving has similarly been banned

from Australia for thought crime offenses in Germany. It did not matter that these are not offenses in Australia.

I have not been convicted because we don't have such laws in the USA, so that is part of the reason I'm giving this speech. Although the same legal grounds for exclusion do not exist in my case, I assure you I am just as bad a character as Faurisson, but I can't present myself to you as an Australian-government-certified bad character. I can however present myself as a German government certified purveyor of X-rated material. Be assured that you have become just as naughty, that is, as a patron of X-rated affairs, by listening to me.

A Tacit Tribute

It is obvious that our enemies give us a tacit tribute by resorting to such measures, which are contrary to the essence of the civil reform of the past two centuries. They are scared because, to look at it one way, revisionists are just saying that the Allies, Vatican, Red Cross, and so forth, were right, during the war, in their assessment of the extermination stories. It is so simple. Remember that when somebody says we're way out.

Earlier today we heard of a concern from their camp that I have heard many times before. This time it was expressed by Deborah Lipstadt: the "survivors" are now dying off at such an alarming

rate that it will soon be difficult to confound the revisionists. Such a view can only be advanced in hysteria, because of what it tacitly admits. No sane person would fear that, because all those alive at the time of the US Civil War are now dead, it will be difficult to confound those who might deny it happened. The defenders of the hoax have quite lost their grip on historical reality, and on what it means for something to "happen" in real time and real space.

Such acts of repression are of course back-handed concessions that Holocaust revisionists are not cranks, and that the legend can now be supported only by terror. Observe that there is a lot of crackpot stuff out there that nobody is trying to ban — Afrocentric history, for example.

Anti-Revisionist Laws

Laws applied against revisionists differ from one country to the next and are of three types:

1. Laws proscribing certain historical claims. The paradigm is the Fabius-Gayssot law in France, which is not hypocritical, has a clear meaning, and expresses exactly what the law is trying to do.

2. Laws outlawing statements which are said to have an undesired effect, mainly to "cause hate" or "incite hate." Canada and perhaps Britain have such laws, and Australia's largely impotent "Human Rights" (there's an Orwellian term!) legislation is in this category.

3. Laws of no clear meaning. Germany has such laws covering "glorifying National Socialism," anti-constitutional activity, "insulting the dead." However in 1995 a law of type one was passed in Germany, providing a penalty of up to five years in prison, and an earlier law of type two, against incitement to racial hatred, was applied against Günter Deckert in 1994.

All three types share the feature that truth is no defense. A good example is Faurisson's conviction under the Fabius-Gayssot law for merely clarifying the meaning of "revisionism." Another is Irving's conviction in Germany for saying that the "gas chamber" that is shown to tourists at the Auschwitz *Stammlager* (main camp) is not authentic — a fact that is now admitted by the Auschwitz Museum. Another feature is that intent is irrelevant, either because the law specifically excludes it from consideration or because that's what happens in court. These are obviously not traditional notions of culpability. One thing I believe is that the type two laws, which focus on the effect of statements, really reduce to type three, that is, laws of no clear meaning.

Effect or likely effect is considered crucial in only the second type, but it is strangely dealt with. One formulation is "cause hate." Now "cause" is a diffi-

cult concept even outside the sphere of social affairs, but I want to be practical here and avoid insolvable epistemological problems. My complaint is that the charge of causing hatred is not tested empirically. If the charge is that it "causes hatred," then readers of the offending literature who became haters should be produced. If the charge is that it is "likely to cause hatred," then past readers of comparable literature who became haters should be produced. However such considerations are considered impertinent. There is no empirical test.

I have been observing the course of controversy surrounding Holocaust revisionism for a quarter century, and I have yet to see the development of any of the hate alleged. Thus this sort of regulation is really type three. Logically you could never prove yourself innocent, and you will be guilty if the court decides it wants you to be. This concept of "causing hatred," unsupported by evidence from experience, is also applied in the USA, but outside the legal or courtroom context.

As for literature that appears to incite hate, experience suggests it would be hard to beat the Bible.

However, we obviously do cause hatred! We cause hate because our enemies hate what we say, and they hate us for saying it. This idea (of causing or inciting hatred) is perhaps the most Orwellian notion in current circulation.

My Book

I also want to talk some about my book, the other reason I am here to give this speech. It was going to be on sale here but the shipment didn't arrive on time. This is no great catastrophe, because after you hear my thoughts on it you may decide you wouldn't have bought it anyway.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century was first published 22 years ago, but it is still apparently of interest. It is sometimes called a "classic," a designation that makes me feel very old.

Of course, from the perspective of today the book has defects and several people, of whom I am one, could do better today. In admitting such defects, I can plead that I was one man working with no significant help. The correspondents I had were not then, and have not subsequently become, experts in the field. The literature of revisionist orientation was scanty. Some of it was rubbish that constituted a minor nuisance. On the positive side were Paul Rassinier, Thies Christophersen, and Wilhelm Stäglich. The writings of the last two were of value mainly as primary sources, that is, in relating their own experiences, although Stäglich later wrote a book of historical analysis. Even taking them into account, the historical complex was not there. I will elaborate.

The style of my book is certainly not elegant. I believe my style has improved much since then but, like most men with a technical education, my style remains at best dry and not elegant.

It is not immodest for me to say that mine is the best book of its type, because it is the only book of its type. To compare my book to others, the approach of mine is horizontal, the others vertical. Subsequent investigators have taken specific subjects and gone more deeply into them than I did. Such vertical approaches should be contrasted with my horizontal. I attempted to cover every reasonably relevant aspect of the problem. The question of the existence of gas chambers was only one of many. I tried to show what did happen as well as what did not. I showed the relevance of the Zionist and related movements. I discussed the Allied policies and the Jewish influences in them. My use of sources (such as the Nuremberg trials, Red Cross reports, Vatican documents, and contemporary newspaper accounts) today seems obvious, but it was not then. To aid in comprehending the early war crimes trials, I gave witchcraft trials as a useful precedent.

I believe my analysis provoked investigations of specific problems, even when such influence was not conceded. My skepticism about the reality of the mysterious "German industrialist" who in 1942, according to the World Jewish Congress, passed along information that Jews were being exterminated, probably provoked the later investigations attempting to determine his identity. Walter Laqueur and Richard Breitman, in *Breaking the Silence* (1986), unconvincingly proposed Eduard Schulte. I also stressed the inaction of the Allies with respect to Auschwitz, which Laqueur and Martin Gilbert tried without success to explain.

The existence and relevance of the 1944 aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz were, to the best of my knowledge, first argued in my book. I also believe that my book provoked, perhaps through some intermediary, the 1979 release of these photos by the CIA, but again such influence is not admitted.

I consider my book generally "right" even today in the sense of how the historical parts fit together, and they fit perfectly without major or fundamental mysteries.

This horizontal analysis remains unique in the revisionist literature. The book presented a historical complex that remains valid today. The main contribution was that the book made specialized studies easier because investigators did not have to worry about coherence of the larger picture; they could direct a curious person to my book. I did a good enough job for that, even if not a perfect job. The proof is that, among revisionists, the defects of the book are certainly seen, but there seems to be no

great demand for an improved work of comparable scope.

An example: You want to discuss the question of gas chambers at Auschwitz. My old book won't help if you want to be current, and there would not necessarily be any reason to cite it. There are much more recent and conclusive writings, notably Faurisson's, but I could not imagine a person securely venturing into such a controversy without having a grasp of the general historical complex, as provided in my book. Thus I cannot imagine contemporary Holocaust revisionism existing without a book such as mine, even if it is never necessary today to cite it.

It is still the only book of this sort. A better one would be nice, but there are two problems that occur to me. First, such a book, if written from the point of view of our knowledge today, would not fit into a single volume.

Second, a paradox: a weakness of the book explains some of its strength. From the present point of view, there seems much in the book that is awkwardly presented. This is because I did not write this book as an expert. The book was written as works of research normally are: I was myself struggling to understand, as would an intelligent and serious reader. Thus the book expresses a relationship of common perspective, and mutual empathy, between author and reader that could not exist in a new book, written today from a position of expertise, and directed at a neophyte reader (that is the only kind possible today). I believe this explains the occasional overwhelming effect the book has. From this point of view the book is still contemporary, as well as "right."

Where is Revisionism Today?

All objective observers, revisionist or not, are well advised to take note of this: Apostasy among us has been rare, despite our persecuted status. The exceptions are illuminating. In France Abbé Pierre recanted, but he wasn't really a revisionist, just a visitor.

The case of Jean-Claude Pressac, who says he started out as a disciple of Faurisson but then became convinced that Faurisson was wrong, is worth noting. Pressac's reversion was highly profitable to him, as the major media tried to lionize this obscure man.

David Cole has been a painful exception, but also a plausible one because he is a Jew, and the pressures on him were far greater than on a gentile. His recantation in terror of the JDL was pathetic and unconvincing. I will recant too, if enough pressure is brought to bear.

A concomitant fact is that revisionists have been very tough. Robert Faurisson is a brilliant man but, having lived and worked for many years in the

midst of advanced technical development, I can't truthfully say that he is the most brilliant man I have known. He does however appear to be the toughest man I have known. For 20 years he has been bearing the brunt of the malice of those in power in his country, and that malice is considerable. There exist other very tough revisionists. However, I wonder if "revisionists are tough" is really the right formulation. No sane person is tough in defending a stupid or flimsy cause. I tend to think revisionists are tough because they know they are right.

These observations should be weighed carefully by friends, enemies, and neutrals.

Some Holocaust museums, in particular the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, admit that they are trying to counter us; thus they are in a sense memorials to us.

I must make one sad observation. In-fighting among revisionists is today excessive, and seems in large measure motivated by vanities and jealousies. I won't mention names, thereby starting another round of mutual denunciation. We should be more willing to look at other's work and see what is half full, not merely what is half empty.

Our speed in adopting the Internet, and especially the World Wide Web, has been very satisfying to me.

We could be a hair away from a major upheaval. Recently I heard that the Auschwitz Museum denied the BBC and David Irving permission to do a documentary there. I hope that means the major media are getting more willing to listen to us, and will perhaps get angry at the intellectual dishonesty that has opposed us for years.

We heard Faurisson say that absolute victory is impossible, because there will always be those who doggedly cling to what they want to believe. I believe that is unimportant, because real victories can be absolute from a practical point of view. The American Indians are still there, but everybody knows who won that confrontation.

Unfortunately I no longer believe victory is assured. I ask myself: can these yarns really go on and on? I have to admit, yes. The endurance of religious myth provides ample precedent, and it is a commonplace that the Holocaust cult is really a religion.

I judge the present situation to be highly volatile. Anything could happen.

The Hoax Ends the Twentieth Century

The title of this presentation is obviously a play on the title of my book, but mainly it is an accurate statement. The Hoax ends the twentieth century, and revisionism has had a lot to do with this, as is clear when one considers that "holocaustomania"

has been the rule only since the rise of contemporary Holocaust revisionism 20 to 25 years ago. Consider the increasing publicity since then, and the daily publicity today. We hear of aged alleged Nazi war criminals still being hunted down, Switzerland's alleged wartime crimes (which get more and more vague as time goes on), the alleged hardness of the Vatican. From the relative silence of the 50s this propaganda has built up to a constant din today. I know of nothing comparable. Try to imagine constant whining about the US Civil War, which ended in 1865, in 1918. The "Holocaust" has become the principal topic of current affairs.

I believe the "holocaustomania" is largely a reaction to revisionism. As I noted, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum admits this as part of its mission. The uproar over my book in early 1977 was amazing. I would say the holocaustomania started a year later, with the 1978 NBC television "docudrama" series, "Holocaust." It is important to note the sequence because some, particularly those new to the controversy, may assume we revisionists are reacting to holocaustomania. If anything, it's the other way around.

Thus the Hoax ends the twentieth century also in the sense that the people who call it a hoax are implicitly getting much attention, despite their meagre publishing resources. Logically, Holocaust revisionism ought to be the major intellectual freedom issue of the day. Ronald Dworkin, in *Index on Censorship* (May-June 1995), asked "What justifies this exception?"

Adelaide Institute

The *Adelaide Institute Newsletter* is at present the best in the English language in terms of timely publication of revisionist news and articles. The problem is that it is way down under here and very obscure in the USA and Europe; perhaps remedies are available. Remember that a lot of people can at least read English. Our *Smith's Report* is good and timely, but it has a primary emphasis on US college campuses.

Meetings such as this have been rare outside the US, for legal, political and financial reasons. This meeting is a great accomplishment in the face of great odds, and will greatly enhance the visibility of revisionism, mainly in Australia, but I think it will also have repercussions elsewhere. Here I have made new connections and strengthened old ones. I am happy to have given whatever help I could. I thank and congratulate Dr. Fredrick Toben, Mr. David Brockschmidt and all the other associates of Adelaide Institute for organizing and conducting this meeting, and for inviting me to speak to you. Thank you for your time and attention.

Revisionist Activism in Australia

The Adelaide Institute Conference

For some time now, Australia has been one of the most dynamic battlefields in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout. And at the forefront of the battle there is the Adelaide Institute, which publishes an important revisionist newsletter and maintains an information-packed Internet web site.

Centered in South Australia's largest city, and funded by donations, the Adelaide Institute was founded in 1994 by Fredrick Toben, who directs its work and edits its newsletter (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. E-mail: fredadin@adam.com.au).

Born in northern Germany in 1944, Dr. Toben (Toben) studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He also hold a Master's degree in education, and has worked as a school teacher in Victoria, Australia.

The Institute's twice-monthly newsletter has developed into one of the most informative revisionist periodicals anywhere, with a keen readership around the world. A typical issue, twelve pages in length, reports on revisionist activism both at home and abroad, and provides news and commentary about recent noteworthy historical news. Aspects of revisionist scholarship are sometimes dealt with in detail.

In the spring of 1997 Toben made a round-the-world tour, financed by Adelaide Institute supporters, that included an inspection visit of the Auschwitz camp site, and meetings with revisionist scholars and activists in North America and Europe.

In radio and television appearances, Dr. Toben has been an outspoken voice for historical accuracy and free historical inquiry.

All this has predictably enraged the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby. In 1997 the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country's main Jewish community organization, brought legal action against Toben to shut down the Institute's web site (<http://www.adam.com.au/fredadin/adins.html>). In this case, the first test of the country's Racial Discrimination law involving the Internet, Toben was brought before the Human Rights

and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). Outraged by its guiding principle that truth is no defense, Toben walked out of the Commission hearing and refused to cooperate further with it.

A Successful Conference

Over the weekend of August 7-9, 1998, the Adelaide Institute hosted Australia's first-ever revisionist conference. About 50 persons attended the successful three-day meeting in Adelaide, which was noteworthy for the scope and depth of the presentations. While much of the focus was on the Holocaust issue, other subjects were dealt with as well. The meeting, which began on Friday, the 7th, with registration at a hotel and an informal dinner, continued over the next two days at the comfortable and stately Fernilee Lodge.

Speakers included Arthur Butz and John Sack from the United States, and Jürgen Graf from Europe. In addition, a number of revisionist scholars and activists who could not attend in person "participated" by pre-recorded video cassette or by live telephone hookup, or both. Among those attending was the ambassador to Australia of the United Arab Emirates, Khalifa Bakhit Al-falasi. The envoy's attendance predictably prompted complaints from Jewish-Zionist groups.

Dr. Toben opened the conference by welcoming the speakers and attendees, and by reading greetings from several political prisoners, including Günter Deckert and Udo Walendy, each of whom has been imprisoned in Germany for their dissident views on history. Attendees then viewed a clip of a 1994 Australian television "Nightline" broadcast on the Holocaust issue that included remarks by revisionist Geoff Muirden (who later addressed the conference), as well as by Jeremy Jones, a prominent Jewish community figure. A second video clip presented to the attendees was an excerpt of another Australian "Nightline" broadcast, this one from March 1998, which also showed Jones bitterly complaining about revisionist "haters." But this broadcast also presented portions of an interview with Dr. Toben. Among other things, he told viewers: "There is no evidence to prove that the gas chambers existed."

Jürgen Graf on Majdanek

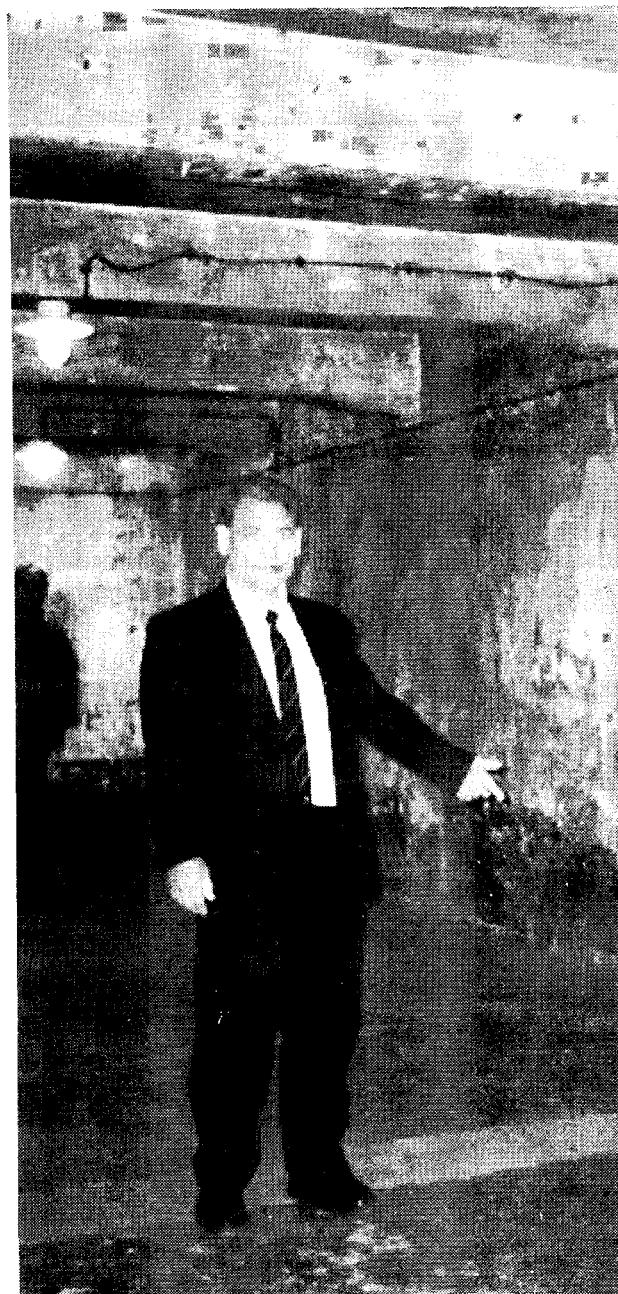
Traveling from Switzerland for the meeting was educator, researcher and author Jürgen Graf, who delivered two talks, including the keynote address. A few weeks earlier, a Swiss court had sentenced him to 15 months imprisonment and a fine of 8,000 francs for his revisionist writings on the Holocaust issue. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists" in the July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-10.) During his stay in Australia, he learned that he had lost his teaching job due to his July 16 conviction.

In his keynote address, Graf spoke about Majdanek, the large German wartime concentration camp at Lublin, in Poland, which he personally inspected in June 1997. His presentation was based on research conducted for a newly published, 300-page book on this subject, co-authored with Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno. Although Allied officials charged in 1945 that the Germans had killed one and a half million people at Majdanek, it has been a relatively "neglected" camp. Contrary to its image as a top secret extermination center, Graf pointed out, the camp in fact was "completely open" and "visible from all sides." Any mass killings there could hardly have been kept secret.

By 1943 Germany was battling for existence against industrially and numerically superior enemies. In this situation, Graf noted, it would have been madness to kill valuable workers, or even to let them die.

The death rate in Germany's wartime camps was high, due especially to typhus and other diseases caused by overcrowding and poor sanitation. German authorities accordingly took measures to deal with the catastrophe. In December 1942, for example, SS *Reichsführer* Himmler ordered that the death rate in the camps "absolutely must be reduced." Documents discovered by Graf and Mattogno detail the specific hygienic measures ordered by German authorities to bring down the prisoner death rate at Majdanek. These measures, which largely proved effective, included installation of sewers, running water taps and toilets, and delousing facilities, as well as regular showers for the inmates, and expansion of the prisoner hospital.

In the largest of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Majdanek, Graf told the conference, there is, remarkably, a large *window* that doomed prisoners could easily have broken. This "gas chamber," Graf concludes, was actually a facility for delousing clothes and similar items. Another purported "gas chamber" at Barracks 41, which is routinely shown to tourists, has no traces of Zyklon B. However, visitors can view canisters there that reputedly contained lethal carbon monoxide (CO) gas. Oddly, though, these canisters are marked "CO₂," which denotes non-lethal carbon dioxide.



Fredrick Toben inside the "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz I main camp, mid-April 1997.

Among the clearly baseless, or at least greatly exaggerated allegations about Majdanek is a report that the corpses of 70,000 victims were burned in three ditches. But to burn so many bodies, Graf pointed out, would have required many tons of wood. Furthermore, he went on, it would have taken days for the ditches to cool, tons of human ash would have needed removal, and a grinding mill would have been required to process residual bones on a physically impossible scale.

Graf's second conference address, "Assault on a

Nation," dealt with the on-going attack against Switzerland by organized Jewry, especially the World Jewish Congress, including the "Swiss bank" scandal.

Arthur Butz

Dr. Arthur R. Butz, a professor at Northwestern University near Chicago, and author of the classic revisionist study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, flew from the United States to deliver his address, "The Hoax Ends The Twentieth Century" (which appears elsewhere in this *Journal* issue).

John Bennett

For decades Australia's most active and outspoken revisionist writer and publicist has been John Bennett, an attorney with a well-deserved reputation as a staunch defender of civil rights.

After graduation from the University of Melbourne, he served from 1966 to 1980 as secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties, and since 1980 has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union (P.O. Box 1137, Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia).

He is also the author of *Your Rights*, a widely-circulated citizens' rights handbook that has been regularly revised and updated since the first edition of 1974.

Since 1979, when he was "converted" by reading *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Bennett has actively promoted revisionism in numerous interviews, in pamphlets mailed to thousands of people around the country, and in successive editions of *Your Rights*. A member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee since 1980, Bennett has also been a *Journal* contributor and an IHR conference speaker.

John Sack

Also traveling from the United States was John Sack, Jewish-American author of *An Eye For An Eye*, an extraordinary account of the suppressed story of torture and murder of German civilians in Jewish-run camps in postwar Soviet-ruled Poland. The veteran journalist and historian, who accepts the Holocaust gas chamber and "six million" claims, noted the remarkable efforts by Jews and Jewish



John Bennett

groups to suppress his book (which is no longer in print), and even to prevent him from speaking on the postwar mistreatment of Germans at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. (See "Suppressing the Story of Genocide Against Germans," in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 31-33.)

Nigel Jackson

Just as Shakespeare's Hamlet had to commit new murders in an effort to hold on to power, remarked Nigel Jackson in his address, so also do the Zionists have to keep "murdering" free speech on the Holocaust issue with newer and ever more restrictive laws. Jackson, a journalist, secondary school teacher, poet and author (*The Case for David Irving*), has made a name for himself in Australia as an eloquent defender of freedom of speech. Further suppression of freedom is inevitable, he warned, unless citizens take "disinfective" steps.

Robert Faurisson

Attendees viewed a pre-recorded video presentation by French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson, "Marshal Pétain, Anti-Communism and the Revisionist Challenge," which gave a "tour" of "Vichy France," the administrative capital of (unoccupied) France from 1940 to 1944. For decades it has been customary to castigate Pétain for his wartime policy of collaboration with Third Reich Germany. It is not well known, for example, that the Vichy administration of Marshal Pétain was duly recognized as the legitimate government of France by more than 16 countries, including the United States.

After his video presentation, Professor Faurisson spoke to the attendees by telephone from France. Regarding the future of revisionism, he expressed the view that "we shall never win and never lose." Revisionists cannot "win," Faurisson explained, because we face a three-thousand-year-old Jewish mindset of irreconcilable conflict: "the Jew against the goyim." Because the Holocaust story has become a religious dogma for Jews, it is impervious to reason and facts. It also endures because it is "big business" and a profitable "golden calf."

In this great struggle — which Faurisson believes should be regarded as the last great intellectual adventure of this century and the first of the 21st century — he urges revisionist activists and scholars to "try to be clear, simple, not pedantic, and keep a smile on your face."

David Brockschmidt

In his address on "Schindler's List," conference speaker David Brockschmidt related that his father had known Oskar Schindler well, and had been



Adelaide Institute conference speakers, August 1998, from left to right: Jürgen Graf, David Brockschmidt, Arthur Butz (standing), and John Sack.

instrumental in saving Jewish lives. However, he received no credit for this, either from Steven Spielberg in his film "Schindler's List," or from Tom Keneally in his book of the same name, upon which the motion picture was based. As Brockschmidt noted, Schindler's widow, Emily Schindler, has dismissed the influential Spielberg film as "lies."

Geoff Muirden

For several years now, Geoff Muirden has been making a mark in Australia as an articulate and effective partisan of free speech and historical revisionism, both as secretary of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, and, more recently, as Assistant Director of the Adelaide Institute. He provided "An Overview Of Historical Revisionism In Australia," citing, for example, the impact of John Bennett's work.

Andrew Gray

A recognized authority on Richard Wagner, and the translator of his autobiography, spoke on "Errors, Lies, and Nonsense" about the great German composer. Because sensuality and sexuality pervades his work, said Gray, this "skull-splitting genius" forever robbed music of its innocence. Gray spoke against the absurd but enduring campaign to blame Wagner, at least in part, for Hitler, who was a great admirer of the composer. More than a century after his death, Gray noted, Wagner is still being vilified for his notorious anti-Jewish essay on "Jewry and Music."

Olga Scully

In her address, "My Battle Against Australia's Zionist Lobby," Mrs. Olga Scully reported on her legal struggle for her right to free speech. Because of complaints by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry about leaflets she had distributed in her home town in Tasmania, she has been brought before the Australian Human Rights Commission. She expressed appreciation for the support she's received in this legal battle, including backing from David Brockschmidt and Dr. Toben.

William DeMaria

Much like a patient on "life support," said William DeMaria in his address, democracy in Australia is now "in crisis." Dr. DeMaria, who teaches at the School of Social Work and Social Policy of the University of Queensland, said that an illusion of freedom is maintained to keep the system going. Even the universities have ceased to cultivate an unfettered search for truth, but have instead become "edu-business" job placement training centers.

Video and Telephone Speakers

Most of those who "participated" in the conference did so by telephone and/or pre-recorded video. They included:

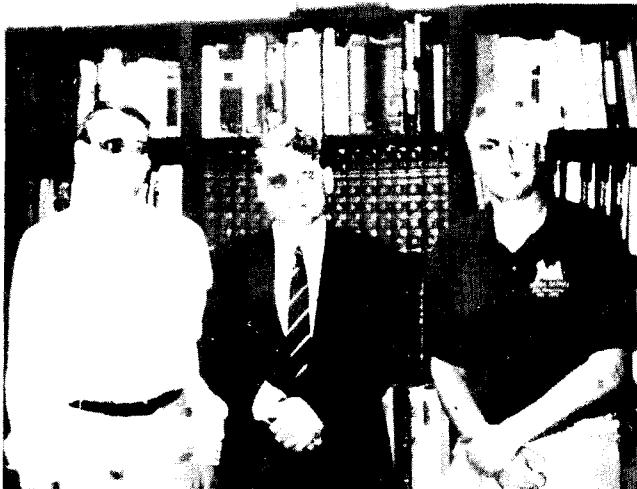
- Retired journalist Doug Collins, speaking by telephone from western Canada, reported on the Jewish-Zionist campaign to punish him and the *North Shore News* for a column criticizing Spielberg's "Schindler's List." This brought the British-born writer before a "Human Rights Commission" where, typically for such bodies, the truth of the allegedly offensive writing is irrelevant. (See "Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*.)

- Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, sent greetings to the conference on behalf of the IHR by pre-recorded video presentation. He also spoke briefly to the attendees by telephone from California, congratulating Dr. Toben and his colleagues for their achievement in organizing this important event.

- Friedrich Berg, an American engineer and IHR *Journal* contributor, spoke by telephone on "The Diesel Gas Chamber Hoax Revisited." According to



Geoff Muirden



Dr. Fredrick Toben, center, during his visit at the IHR office, April 1, 1997, with Mark Weber, left, and Greg Raven, right.

the standard Holocaust story, he pointed out, about a million Jews were supposedly killed in gas chambers with Zyklon B, while some two million Jews were supposedly killed in diesel engine gas chambers. Despite its "dirty" appearance, Berg explained, diesel engine exhaust is actually not toxic.

• Germar Rudolf, a German-born certified chemist, author of *The Rudolf Report*, and editor of the important German-language revisionist quarterly *VfG*, is currently living in exile to avoid a politically motivated prison sentence imposed by a German court. He submitted a paper on the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and spoke to the conference by telephone.

• In a video address to the conference, Dr. Robert Countess, a close associate of the IHR, spoke on "Historical Sources and Their Use in Holocaust Historiography." Sources for the alleged wartime homicidal gas chambers are rare and unreliable, he pointed out, and he spoke of the often religious nature of the anti-revisionist critique. He cited the 1993 Master's thesis of New Zealand scholar Dr. Joel Hayward as a noteworthy and courageous study that shows the seriousness of revisionist scholarship, and affirms the validity of numerous specific revisionist arguments.

• Ernst Zündel, the veteran German-Canadian publicist and free speech activist, and his attorney, Doug Christie, addressed the conference by video. Currently Zündel and his "battling barrister" are defending themselves before a "Human Rights Tribunal" in Toronto, that is investigating charges that he has been spreading "hate" through the California-based Internet "Zündelsite." In this Orwellian case, Christie mentioned, the Tribunal has declared that "truth is no defense."

• Ingrid Rimland, "webmaster" of the California-based "Zündelsite," spoke about "My Wandering Years" in her video address to the conference. Her most recent published work is the *Lebensraum* trilogy.

• Dr. Charles Weber, editor-publisher of a revisionist newsletter, spoke by telephone from Oklahoma. The case for Holocaust revisionism, he said, is much stronger today than it was in 1983 when his booklet, *The Holocaust: 120 Questions and Answers* (no longer in print), was published.

• Speaking by telephone from Sweden, Morocco-born author Ahmed Rami reported on his work and its impact in the Scandinavian country, especially through "Radio Islam," which he started in 1987. Through this important voice for historical revisionism in Scandinavia, he has often dealt with the Palestine issue and Jewish propaganda.

• Dr. Serge Thion, speaking by telephone from France, described his visits to the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. At neither center, he said, are visitors permitted to take photographs or to record what they see. The Museums invent supposedly historical dialogue. As part of their effort to prove a German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, they cite the 1942 Wannsee Conference protocol, as well as a reconstructed "gas chamber" model.

• Hans Schmidt, editor-publisher of the *GAN-PAC Brief* newsletter, and author of *Jailed in Democratic Germany* (available from the IHR), spoke by telephone from Florida about his arrest and incarceration in Germany for critical remarks about Jews and Freemasons he had written in a letter.

• Robert Brock, African-American community activist, spoke by telephone from Washington, DC, about the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

• Michael Hoffman, II, who operates the "Campaign for Radical Truth in History," including a newsletter and Internet website (www.hoffman-info.com), spoke by telephone from Idaho about "Racism in the Jewish Talmud."

• Paul Fromm, director of the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), spoke by telephone from Canada about the on-going assault against free speech in "Cuba del Norte."

The IHR Needs Your Help

Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, please support it with your generous donation!

Paying Tribute to Jewish Power

‘Ah, How Sweet It Is To Be Jewish ...’

ROBERT FAURISSON

Alain Finkielkraut is a professor of philosophy at France's elite *Ecole Polytechnique* who for years has been a darling of a certain section of the Parisian intelligentsia. In 1982, at the time of one of my first trials for calling the Auschwitz gas chamber story a historical lie, he revealed his concern about revisionism in a muddled work entitled *L'Avenir d'une négation* ("The Future of a Denial"). On the first page of this book he described me as being "of the ilk of Big Brother," and on page 66 he wrote: "In terms of method, the deniers of the gas chambers are the spiritual children of the big Stalinists."

In 1987 I had a personal encounter with Finkielkraut in Paris' Latin Quarter, when an anti-revisionist conference was being held at the Sorbonne. Groups of young Jews were roaming the area, on the lookout for potential revisionists. Finkielkraut was with one of these groups. Together with three or four young Jews, he came into the café where I happened to be. I greeted him with the words "They're done for, your gas chambers!" a rash remark for which I was to pay an hour later. But, at that moment, taken aback, he mumbled a reply and quickly left the café with his friends.

Since then I have followed his activities. He has steadily made something of a speciality of denouncing the "Jewish maximalism" of such figures as Claude Lanzmann.

Last October, Finkielkraut wrote an essay defending Cardinal Stepinac (1896-1960), who was being widely attacked for having collaborated with Croatia's wartime "Ustasha" regime. The essay, published in the leading French daily *Le Monde*, October 7, 1998 (p. 14), is entitled "Mgr Stepinac and Europe's Two Grieves" ("Mgr Stepinac et les deux douleurs de l'Europe"). In it Finkielkraut defended both the late Cardinal's memory and the wartime Croatian Roman Catholic Church. He recalled that, from 1941, the Church defended the Jews against

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have appeared in this *Journal*.



Alain Finkielkraut

the Ustasha regime. Stepinac, he went on, suffered personally as a victim of what he calls "Europe's two griefs": Fascism and Communism.

But what especially catches the reader's attention are the essays opening lines:

Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century! We are no longer History's accused, but its darlings. The spirit of the times loves, honors, and defends us, watches over our interests; it even needs our imprimatur. Journalists draw up ruthless indictments against all that Europe still has in the way of Nazi collaborators or those nostalgic for the Nazi era. Churches repent, states do penance, Switzerland no longer knows where to stand ...

Obviously, it is "sweet" to be Jewish in these final years of the century, but only a Jew has the right to say so. In effect, as Finkielkraut acknowledges, it is no longer possible to publish without the imprimatur of organized Jewry. In effect, I might add, the Jew reigns unopposed.

Each year in France, the Interior Ministry and certain specialized and generously subsidized agencies carefully note and tally every incident in our country that might be regarded as anti-Semitic. Try as they do to inflate their figures, the result is clear: practically no anti-Semitic incidents can be detected in France.

If it is true that it is so sweet to be Jewish, then what right do Jews have to complain of a (nearly

non-existent) anti-Semitism, or to demand, and obtain, ever harsher legal repression of revisionism, which they have succeeded in identifying with anti-Semitism?

This same October 7 issue of *Le Monde* reports that Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front party, must once again pay dearly for having had the temerity, at a meeting in Munich in December 1997, to state that the gas chambers are a detail of Second World War history. [See "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 14-15.] The European Parliament, by a huge majority, had just voted to suspend Le Pen's parliamentary immunity. A German court may sentence him to five years' imprisonment. In the European Parliament, German member Willy Rothley, speaking for the Socialist faction, said that a goal of his country's penal code is to "protect the young against falsifications of history." He went on to warn: "If Mr. Le Pen does not answer the summons of my country's courts, he will be imprisoned as soon as he sets foot on German soil."

In Germany, repression has reached new heights. (Even Americans traveling in Germany, or a neighboring country, can be thrown into a German jail for revisionist felonies.) For the same offending remark, Le Pen has been, and is again being, prosecuted in France. In 1991, a French court ordered him to pay 1,200,000 francs (more than \$200,000) for his original "detail" remark, made in 1987. On the basis of an emergency interim ruling of December 26, 1997, he is also currently "under investigation" in Paris for his Munich "detail" remark. Thus, for the same statement, he is being charged simultaneously in Munich and in Paris.

Precisely a week after the publication of his *Le Monde* essay, in which he conceded that Jews have nothing to complain about in France, Finkielkraut had the chutzpah to appear as a witness in the Paris Court of Appeal (11th chamber) to complain about the alleged threat to French Jews posed by revisionists. On October 14 he testified against Roger Garaudy, author of *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, and publisher Pierre Guillaume. Finkielkraut regarded Garaudy an anti-Semite and a "Faurissonian." He declared his approval of France's anti-revisionist "Fabius-Gayssot" law. The state, Finkielkraut said, must punish hatred. (The first to call for the introduction in France of an anti-revisionist law on the model of the Israeli law of July 1981 was a group of Jewish historians including Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Georges Wellers, united around René-Samuel Sirat, Chief Rabbi of France [*Bulletin quotidien de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1, 3]. This law, called the "Fabius-Gayssot Act," was promulgated on July 13, 1990.)

Day by day, I follow with interest this mighty

rise of Jewish power. In my own modest way, I pay tribute to this power. Each month I send my payment of 5,000 francs (about \$900) to the "Paris Fines Receiver," which collects the sums I am obliged regularly to hand over for revisionism, that is to say, for having annoyed organized Jewry.

I must constantly reckon with new charges and court battles.

In France, in Germany, in Palestine — indeed, when one looks closely, everywhere in the world, including Japan, it is prudent not to offend, even indirectly or unwittingly, those who, like Finkielkraut, can sigh: "Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century!"

As for the rest of us, we do not even have the right publicly to mutter: "Ah, how grievous it is not to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century!"

— October 15, 1998



Jean-Marie Le Pen

'Holocaust Mono-Culture'

"In the terrible tragedy of the [Second World] war there is a unique element: the deportation and murder of Jews and resistance fighters by the Nazis. But that lasted four years altogether. The much greater crime of the Soviet Gulags took place over decades, and cost the lives of millions. Millions also perished in the Chinese camps, and there have been terrible genocides in Cambodia and Vietnam. None of these crimes has ever received the same consideration as the annihilation of the Jews. And this is a kind of mono-culture, which I find shocking."

— Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front party, quoted in *Der Spiegel*, No. 46/1996.

'We Hold the Real Power'

A Jewish Appeal to Russia's Jewish Elite

Most Russians have suffered terribly during the Yeltsin years. According to Harvard University scholar Graham Allison, who is also a former US assistant Secretary of Defense, ordinary Russians have experienced, on average, a 75 percent plunge in living standards since 1991 — almost twice the decline in Americans' income during the Great Depression of the 1930s. But in the midst of this widespread economic misery, a small minority has grown fabulously wealthy since the end of the Soviet era.

Although Jews make up no more than three or four percent of Russia's population, they wield enormous economic and political power in that vast and troubled country. "At least half of the powerful 'oligarchs' who control a significant percentage of the economy are Jewish," the *Los Angeles Times* has cautiously noted. (See also: D. Michaels, "Capitalism in the New Russia," May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 21-27.)

Almost certainly the most important of the "oligarchs" is Boris A. Berezovsky, a former mathematics professor who heads the Logovaz financial-industrial group, which includes automobile imports and sales, aviation, oil and media. In 1997 *Forbes* magazine ranked him as one of the 100 richest people in the world, with an estimated net worth of \$3 billion. His extensive media holdings include ORT television, the daily *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* ("Independent Journal"), and the weekly magazine *Ogonek*.

The second most powerful business figure is probably Vladimir Gusinsky. In addition to heading the "Most" banking group, he is also called "the Russian Rupert Murdoch" because of his large media empire, which includes the daily newspaper *Sevodnya*, the weekly news magazine *Itogi*, and the NTV television network. Gusinsky is also chairman of the Russian Jewish Congress.

Russia's current prime minister is Yevgeny Primakov, who was promoted from his post as foreign minister in September 1998. During the final phase of the Soviet era, he headed the KGB intelligence and security service, and served as a Politburo member. Early in his career, he dropped the obviously Jewish-sounding name he was born with, Yevgeny Finkelstein.

Many other Jews have played major roles in



Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov

Russia's governmental and political life in recent years, among them Alexander Livshitz and Grigory Yavlinsky, presidential chief of staff Anatoly Chubais, deputy prime minister Boris Nemtsov, and prime minister Sergei Kiriyenko.

Recently there has been considerable discussion among Russian intellectuals of a pointed appeal and frank warning to the Jews who now hold decisive power in that sprawling country. It was written by Eduard Topol, a gifted Jewish writer born in the former Soviet Union who now lives in the United States, where he has become a successful author. Among his English-language novels are *The Jewish Lover* (St. Martin's Press, 1998), *Dermo!* (Plume, 1997), *Red Square* (Quartet Books, 1983), *Deadly Games* (Quartet Books, 1983), and, *Submarine U-137* (Quartet Books, 1983).

In his appeal, Topol urges Boris Berezovsky and the other Jewish magnates to forsake their lust for wealth and power, and start to show some concern for the Russian people who have suffered so much at the hands of these pitiless masters.

Here is the complete text of Topol's extraordinary "Open Letter to Berezovsky, Gusinsky, Smolensky, Khodorkovsky and other Oligarchs," translated for the *Journal* by Daniel Michaels from the text published in the respected Moscow paper *Argumenty i Fakty* ("Arguments and Facts"), No. 38, September 1998:

'Start To Love Russia, Boris Abramovich!'

It all started with a fax I sent to Boris Abramovich Berezovsky on June 26. It read:

"Dear Boris Abramovich! My publishers are of the opinion that the success of my books has been the direct result of the avid interest of Western readers in the actual personalities who have shaped contemporary Russian history: Brezhnev, Andropov, Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the people around them.

"I am now working on a book completing the Russian panorama at the end of the 20th century, and it is quite obvious that a writer can find no better a story than your phenomenal biography, and no better a main character in the flow of today's cataclysmic events in Russia than Boris Berezovsky. I hope that you will understand how important our meeting would be in helping me to describe the individual most affecting the course of Russian history at the close of the 20th century ..."

Just two days later Berezovsky received me in his "Reception House" at 40 Novokuznetskaya Street. In this private residence, restored in modern luxurious Russian style, the best trained secretaries served me tea while passing to Berezovsky telephone receivers and notes from various ministers and presidential administrators.

Responding to my thanks for granting me the audience at such a hectic time, Boris Abramovich commented with a faint smile: "You would be writ-

ing the book in any case ..."

I understood that my visit was somewhat imposed on him so I got right to the point:

"Boris Abramovich, the real reason for writing this book is this. As you probably know there is a television show called 'The Puppets.' Puppets of Yeltsin, Yastrzhembsky, Chernomyrdin, Kulikov, and others perform. But the main puppeteer is behind the scenes — his name is Shenderovich. And in real life there are Yeltsin, Kiriyenko, Fedorov, Stepashin and the others. But the main puppeteer has a long Jewish name: Berezovsky-Gusinsky-Smolensky-Khodorkovsky, and so on.

"This is to say that for the first time in a thousand years, since the first Jews settled in Russia, we hold the real power in this country. I want to ask you straight out: How do you intend to use it? What do you intend to do in this country? Cast it into the chaos of poverty or raise it from the mud? Do you understand that a chance like this comes only once in a thousand years? Do you understand your responsibility to our [Jewish] people for your actions?"

Boris Abramovich responded with some difficulty: "Of course, as you see, financial power is in Jewish hands, but we have never looked at this from the point of view of historical responsibility."

"You have never discussed this matter among your closest associates?"

"No. We have taken note of the disproportionality and have tried to put a strong financial oligarch of Russian ancestry in power. But nothing has ever come of it."

"Why not? And, by the way, how did it happen that almost all the money in this country has ended up in Jewish hands? Are there really no competent Russian financiers? In old [Tsarist] Russia there were some exceptional Russian commercial figures — Morozov, Tretyakov ..."

"You know," Boris Abramovich said, "of course there are some very competent bankers among the Russians. But this profession requires a second very important factor — the will power to do the job. Because of our history Jews know how to lose and then get back up on their feet again. This is probably a result of our historical experience. But even the most talented Russians don't have this ability. They can't take the blow, and they're completely out of the game after their first loss. It's regrettable."

"Let's say that is true [I replied]. But now, it's so happened that we the Jews have all the financial power, while the government is run by half-Jews like Kiriyenko and Chubais. Don't you realize the full measure of danger to which we subject our [Jewish] people in the event of Russia's total collapse? Anti-Semitic pogroms could turn into a new Holocaust."



Boris Berezovsky

"That's out of the question," Boris Abramovich said. "Do you know the percentage of anti-Semitism in Russia today? It is just eight percent! And that has been scientifically verified!"

Boris Abramovich, I am not going to publish at this time the entire content of our two meetings. There's no purpose in that. But in the two months that have elapsed since we first met, Russia has fallen into the financial abyss and is now but one step from the nightmare of social madness. And neither you (I mean you personally) nor any of the other Jewish oligarchs recognize this as a *Jewish* tragedy. It so happened that with the collapse of the USSR and the breakdown of the Soviet regime, you were able to come closer to the threshold than anyone else. Talent, Jewish acumen, and will power have enabled you to secure this success and to multiply it. But if you think that this is your personal due, you are tragically mistaken. And if you simply assume that you were chosen by God to become a super-financier and a super-oligarch, you are committing a grave sin.

Yes, we are God's chosen people — we really are the people chosen by Him. But we were not chosen for personal enrichment, but only for the purpose of leading the peoples of the world out of barbarism and paganism into the world of the Ten Commandments of civilization: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife ... And this process has not been completed by a long shot. Oh no! For that reason we have been given our talents, our acumen, quickness of mind, and that will power of which you are so proud. When each of us is up there, He the Almighty will not ask whether we have done well or poorly on Earth. He will only ask one question. He will say: "I gave you this talent. How did you use it?" Did you use it for the purpose I sent you, namely, to bring them into humanity, to civilize the people, to enlighten them? Or did you use My gift to fill your safe with a billion dollars and sleep with a million beautiful women?"

And we shall respond in accordance with the measure of the gift received, and our abilities to use it.

Of course, both you and I are atheists, Boris Abramovich, as are your fellow oligarchs. Therefore we do not fear punishment after death; we are above these childish and vulgar fears. As the people are wont to say "Don't teach me how to live, help me materially." All right, I will tell you quite materially. Let us forget for a moment the tens of thousands of Jews whom the new Russian Black Hundreds [Tsarist-era nationalists] will cut down in the first wave of pogroms, let us forget about their children and mothers. But even if, after having put them out of your mind, and you are able to fly out of Russia on your private aircraft, you will be finished. You will

lose access to the levers of power and to the economy of this country; you will simply become refugees in a land with a foreign language. Believe me, for you this will be like death — even if you have accounts in Swiss banks.

And because you still do not use your money, nor the gift God gave you for the good of this country and its people, the path you are following is suicidal.

And now let us remember, Boris Abramovich, all the other Jews and half-Jews living in this country. You know very well what happened in Germany when all German money fell into the hands of Jewish bankers, who were concerned only with power and multiplying their profits. Hitler appeared and it culminated in the Holocaust.

Today new Russian black shirts [nationalists] and fascists are rising up around you on the fertile soil of Russian misery. And if you want to know how this will end, watch the films of Auschwitz and look into the eyes of the children standing there behind the barbed wire. And the Germans were a highly civilized, great European people. Not one of their poets said: "A German uprising is frightful, senseless, and merciless."

So, do you seriously believe that in Russia today only eight percent of the people is anti-Semitic? Or do you really believe that pogroms are merely historical phantoms, anachronisms or, as you put it, "It's out of the question."

Crap, Boris Abramovich (pardon my Russian).

In 1953 I survived a pogrom in Poltava [Ukraine]. It was during the time of the "doctors' plot," and real pogroms had already started in the Poltava Podole. After barricading themselves in their apartments, several Jewish families in the center of the city were unable to go out onto the streets for three days. And when they finally dared, they could read on their front steps: "Jews, we're going to paint the roofs with your blood!" Therefore I know and remember how easily it starts. Just give the destitute and the aggrieved a guarantee of immunity from penalty, and they will commit arson, rape, and steal anywhere — in Poltava, Moscow, and even Los Angeles.

I was born and grew up in Baku [Azerbaijan], Boris Abramovich. I have a friend who was fantastically rich even during the Soviet period, at a time when you were living on 120 rubles as a [Ph.D.] candidate of science, and using your friend's one-room flat for your carnal pleasures. However, one day in the middle of the night his family woke him up and said: "Some people have come and want to talk to you." He got up, dressed and went outside. Two sobbing Azerbaijani women were standing in the entrance way. They said: "Leonid, help us. Our father has died and is in the hospital morgue, and the doctors are about to open him up [autopsy]

before burial. But our Muslim law forbids it. We beg you, we beseech you — stop them. Help us get our father's body back undisturbed!"

My friend went to the hospital and found the physician on duty, who also happened to be Azerbaijani. My friend said to him: "How can you, an Azerbaijani yourself, violate the laws of your own people. How can you bear it that I, a Jew, has come here to ask you to respect your own Muslim traditions?" He gave the doctor a bribe and ransomed, as it were, the body of the girls' father. It couldn't have been otherwise.

Those women knew who to turn to for help. My friend had a reputation in all of Baku for his acts of charity. Do you know how this favor was returned? Years later, when pogroms against Armenians began in Baku, my friend's fiancee, who happened to be Armenian, fled her home and hid in her grandmother's flat. He came for her to get her out of Baku. But on the way to the airport she said that she wanted to see her home again for the last time. "It's all smashed up, destroyed, I was there." "I don't care. Please take me there. I want a final farewell look at my home." He took her to her home.

The fence was broken, the garden torn up, the house had been torched and was destroyed. She walked about in the ruins and retrieved some family photographs and crockery that was still intact. At that very instant, an infuriated mob of pogromists entered the courtyard. One of her neighbors had informed them that the Armenian woman had returned. "Have you ever seen the face of an enraged mob?" Leonid asked me.

"They went directly at us. My fiancee stood behind me and I felt sure that we would be murdered. There were about two hundred in the mob. Their hands clutched hammers, pipe sections, clubs. I was carrying a pistol, but I knew that I would not even be able to get my hand in my pocket in time.

"Suddenly, at the last moment, when someone was already waving his club or pipe at us, an old man jumped out in front and shouted in Azerbaijani: 'Stop it. I know this man. He has always been good to us. I swear on my ancestors, all Baku knows this. He must leave here unharmed.' And, just imagine, the pogrom mob began to step aside and make a free path through which Ada and I could pass through to my automobile. We got in and left for the airport."

You are an intelligent man, Boris Abramovich. I'm sure you already understand why I've told the story about my friend. *Every Jew should act in the same way.* The money that God has granted us, whether during feudalism, socialism, or capitalism, was not in fact given to us, but rather it is to be funnelled through us to the peoples among whom we live. Only then will our riches truly multiply accord-

ing to His will. And only then are we truly Jews.

Today, the people among whom we reside live in a calamitous state. Poverty, chaos, desperation, hunger, unemployment, and looting by officials and bandits alike prevail. Our beloved Russian women walk the streets. For God's sake, chip in a billion or two.

Don't act like a Jew. Help this nation along in its bloody transition from Communism to civilization. And don't just give money, contribute your brains, talents, skills, your God-given and natural acumen. Use all your strength, will power, position, and wealth to save Russia from total collapse and rid Russia of its Soviet-camp morality and ethics. The people you save will protect you from pogroms, and your mothers, your Jewish mothers, will wish you a quiet *mazel tov*.

Otherwise, another Klimov [a familiar anti-Jewish writer] will one day write a book called "Jewish Power" about how the Jews exterminated the Russian people. Do you really want that, all you Boris Oligarchovichs?

Some Reactions to Topol's 'Open Letter'

Daniel W. Michaels

For reasons both historical and contemporary, relations between Russians and Jews are now so tense and emotion-laden that many Jews, both in Russia and the United States, fear that Topol's appeal will promote anti-Jewish sentiment among Russians, and could even provoke new pogroms.

The nationally-circulated New York Jewish weekly *Forward* (October 9, 1998, p. 5) reports that the chief editor of the paper's Russian edition, Vladimir Yedidovich, suspects that Topol's appeal is part of an anti-Jewish conspiracy. Unnamed parties may have commissioned Topol to write the article, the *Forward* editor believes, to direct Russian wrath against Jews. "Doesn't it seem to you," says Yedidovich, "that the idea behind the article is a provocation of such a large scale that it simply could not have been born in a 'writer's lab' of even such a scandalous writer like Topol?"

Indeed, some Russians have already responded to the "open letter" with bitter but perhaps understandable anti-Jewish hostility. Writing in *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow"), the main opposition newspaper (No. 40/ 253, Sept. 6, 1998), Vladimir Bondarenko comments:

This [open letter] is not a Russian-Jewish dialogue. This is an argument between Jews on how best to protect Jewish interests. Person-



Women buying biscuits at an open air market in Moscow. Ordinary Russians have suffered, on average, a 75 percent drop in living standards since 1991, according to Harvard University scholar Graham Allison, a former assistant Secretary of Defense. That's almost twice the decline in the income of Americans during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

ally I have nothing against Eduard Topol in this matter. Every true patriot is naturally concerned foremost about his own people. But, why on Earth does a Russian mass-circulation newspaper, rather than, say, Tankred Golen-polsky's *Yevreyskaya gazeta* ["Jewish Journal"], publish this Jewish-Jewish argument?...

I can see only one good thing in this, and that is that it is time to do away with censorship concerning the Jewish question. Because *Argumenty i Fakty* has seen fit to raise the question of Jewish domination of our government and of Jewish financial power in our country, it is long since time to have a normal, open Russian-Jewish dialogue on these most sensitive topics in all of Russia's major newspapers. If today the Jew Topol can discuss these problems, the Russian Klimov should have the same opportunity ...

Arrogance, Jewish racial arrogance permeates Topol's article ... He is convinced that the Jews should rule the world ...

Topol is patently wrong when he says that this is the first time in a thousand years that the Jews have had real power in Russia. Lev

Trotsky's power in 1918 far exceeded that of Berezovsky today. Jewish commissars and Cheka agents at that time determined almost everything in this country for an entire epoch. That was in fact the first attempt at totally remaking the Russian Orthodox mentality ...

Topol does not conceal the fact that both he and Berezovsky are atheists. For this same atheist writer to refer to himself as chosen by God shows he knows nothing about his own history or religion ... The Jews still argue among themselves as to whether Jewry is a nationality or a religion ... And just what is the relationship of adherents to Judaism to modern civilization and, more specifically, to Christian civilization?... Christ came to the Jews, but they rejected him. Jews do not accept Christ, and are still waiting for their Messiah. But because they have rejected Him, they are no longer the chosen people ... What does Eduard Topol mean by the expression "chosen by God," and into what civilization does he want to force the Orthodox Russian people? We don't need your services to civilization. We understand your fears perfectly. For the financial suf-

focation of Russia, for the cold and the hunger attributable to Berezovsky and his ilk, [you fear that] the dispossessed, tormented people might take their revenge on your innocent fellow Jews. However, you will not be saved merely by the Jews assuming a more humane attitude to the Russian barbarians, as you propose, but only when your fellow Jews, especially those in power, have adopted a sincere respect for Russian civilization, Russian culture, and Russian traditions. Long ago it was said that "he who comes to us with the sword, shall perish by the sword." [All the same,] the experience and knowledge of Russian Jews who really do consider themselves a part of Russian society is always beneficial for the rebirth of our great nation.

Also writing in the weekly *Zavtra*, Vladimir Galushin notes that if a piece like Topol's open letter had appeared in the patriotic Russian media, one could expect it to be widely condemned as anti-Semitic. But given that Jews themselves acknowledge that they do indeed control Russia today, this fact cannot be refuted or discounted. Galushin sees elements of a "Jewish fascism" in such writings. This fascism is manifest in the small group of oligarchs who want to rule Russia. Fascist philosophy, he contends, means the racial superiority of one group over another, the ideology of power over other countries, even over the world. When the Yeltsin government and the Western media express fears of fascism in Russia, Galushin argues, it is not Russian fascism they should address, but Jewish fascism.

Jewish power in Russia, Galushin continues, has resulted in millions of homeless children, widespread tuberculosis and cholera, a shortage of medicines, cheating retirees of their pensions, suicide in the armed forces, and the death of science. What do the Gusinskys, the Berezovskys, the Chubais, the Nemtsovs, the Kiriyenkos, the Smolenskys, the Livshits, and the Gaidars say about this? Millions of Russians have perished under their rule. Are the Russian people ready to judge these scoundrels for their crimes, Galushin asks.

And Viktor Trostnikov, likewise responding to Topol in an article entitled "The World Will Not Belong to You," states bluntly and unambiguously: "The world is still not yours, and it will never be yours, because Russia will never be yours."

It would be a mistake to suppose that such sentiments are highly unusual, or represent only extreme right-wing views.

The newspaper *Zavtra* is the voice of the nationalists who hold the great majority of seats in Russia's Duma (parliament). These include the deputies

of the reconstituted Russian Communist Party, headed by Gennady Zyuganov, which has abandoned internationalism and orthodox Marxism-Leninism, and might be more accurately be called the "National Communist" party. In the Duma, "reformers" and those who support Yeltsin's government are in a decided minority.

And in addition to such periodicals as *Zavtra*, today in Russia there are scores of truly "extremist" publications that may aptly be described as fascistic or neo-Nazi.

Thus, Berezovsky's remark that anti-Semites make up only eight percent of Russia's population is off the mark. While this figure may accurately reflect the percentage of Russians who are openly hostile to Jews, the percentage of those who are covertly anti-Jewish, or who hate the (mostly Jewish) oligarchs, is certainly much higher.

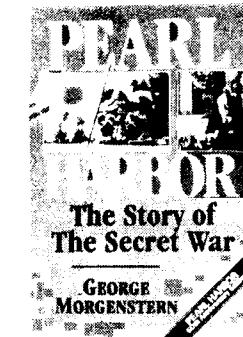
In sharp contrast to the intense feelings expressed by such Russian writers over the catastrophic situation in their country today is the seeming indifference of American and German taxpayers who have unwittingly channeled billions of dollars and marks to the oligarchs — who in turn have transferred this largesse to secret Swiss accounts. Who monitors the distribution of these billions through the World Bank, the IMF, the financial houses, and various banks? Who is responsible for this terrible injustice?

PEARL HARBOR The Story of the Secret War

by George Morgenstern

Hailed by revisionist giants Barnes, Beard and Tansill when it appeared shortly after the Second World War, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and,

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No End in Sight

Germany Has Paid Out More Than \$61.8 Billion in Third Reich Reparations

Since 1951 Germany has paid more than 102 billion marks, about \$61.8 billion at 1998 exchange rates, in federal government reparation payments to Israel and Third Reich victims. In addition, Germans have paid out billions in private and other public funds, including about 75 million marks (\$49 million) by German firms in compensation to wartime forced laborers, the *Welt am Sonntag* newspaper reported recently. These figures are based on calculations by the German Finance Ministry, the influential paper said.

Of the total, Germany has paid out 78.4 billion marks (\$47 billion) on the basis of the 1965 Federal Restitution Law (BEG) to persons, especially Jews, who had been persecuted during the Third Reich era on the basis of race, religion, origin or ideology.

While most of those who were alive during the Second World War are now dead, in recent years Germany was still paying out some 1.25 billion marks (about \$75 million) to 106,000 pensioners in Israel, the United States and other countries on the basis of the 1965 Restitution Law.

A substantial portion of Germany's reparations payments have been to the "Jewish Claims Conference" for Jews who had persecuted by the Third Reich. Recipients include former forced laborers and concentration camp internees, as well as individuals deprived of rights or property under the Nazis. Based in New York City, the Jewish Claims Conference (JCC) has operated for decades as a kind of supra-national governmental agency for Jews around the world.

Between 1992 and July 1998, the German federal government paid out 1.1 billion marks (about \$647 million) to the JCC. During the first half of 1998, it made available 378 million marks (about \$222 million) to the JCC in special one-time restitution payments for Jews who had persecuted by the Third Reich, according to a German government report issued on September 29, 1998. The JCC distributed up to 5,000 marks each to individual claimants.

In recent years Germany has paid out nearly 1.8 billion marks on the basis of special bilateral agreements concluded in 1991 and 1993 with Poland and three successor states of the former Soviet Union — the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus (White Russia) — even though in 1953 Poland and the Soviet Union each renounced any further reparations payments from Germany.

Because there's no sign that German reparations payments will stop anytime soon, the *Welt am Sonntag* wonders if they might be "bottomless." In coming years, Finance Ministry specialists estimate, Germany will pay out an additional 24 billion marks (about \$14.4 billion at a recent exchange rate) in Third Reich reparations.

(Sources: J. Kummer, "Wird die Wiedergutmachung ein Fass ohne Boden?" *Welt am Sonntag*, Oct. 4, 1998, p. 54; Reuters' dispatch, Bonn, Oct. 3, 1998; *The Week in Germany*, published by the German Information Center in New York, Oct. 2, 1998; Focus on "German Restitution for National Socialist Crimes," May 1995 special report by the German Information Center; "Milliardenloch Wiedergutmachung," *D. National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 20, 1998, p. 7. See also: "West Germany's Holocaust Payoff to Israel and World Jewry," in the Summer 1988 *Journal*, pp. 243-250.)



Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and more.

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Germans More Criminal, Less Literate, and Older

Germany is not the country it once was. On the positive side, Germans today are more prosperous and have more free time than ever. For some years now, the Bonn republic has led the world in non-working time. But today's Germans also differ from their grandparents and great-grandparents in other, more ominous ways.

The people that once prided themselves as a nation of "thinkers and poets" is less able to read and write. About four million German adults are barely literate. A prominent specialist, Gerd Kegel, has estimated that about 15 percent of adults in western Germany (the former Bonn republic) can "barely write their signature and read simple headlines ... but are unable to read detailed texts or fill out forms."

Crime has increased enormously in Germany over the past several decades. In 1996 there were about seven million (registered) crimes in the German Federal Republic (with a population of about 81 million), whereas in the entire German Reich in 1938 (with a population of 67 million) there were 355,665. In short, Germany's over-all crime rate has increased more than ten-fold in 58 years. More specifically: there were 3,928 cases of murder in 1996, but only 468 in 1938; 6,200 cases of rape in 1996, and 903 in 1938; and, 63,470 robberies in 1996, and 502 in 1938.

During just the past decade or so, even visitors to Germany can see a noticeable increase in graffiti, trash on the streets, general slovenliness, and open drug dealing.

Most significantly for the long-term future, Germans are slowly dying out. During the late 19th century, Germany's birth rate was one of world's highest. In recent decades, though, it has been one of the world's lowest. The fertility rate in recent years has been about 1.4 live births per woman, which is below the replacement level.

With deaths outnumbering births, demographers estimate that in spite of continued net immigration, Germany's total population — now some 82 million — will decrease in the new century. Even if the population was to remain constant, Germany's relative position in the world would continue to decline, given the higher birth rates in most other countries.

Germany is also less "German." According to the most recent official statistics, 7.87 million foreigners and 300,000 asylum seekers live in the country, of whom more than two million are from Turkey.

Foreigners now make up nine percent of the total population. These figures do not include illegal aliens, of whom there were an estimated 1.8 million in 1997.

Foreigners tend to be concentrated in the larger cities. In Frankfurt am Main, non-Germans already make up 29 percent of the population. In Stuttgart the figure is 24 percent, and in Munich it is 23 percent. The percentage of foreigners is especially high among the youth. In Munich, for example, 34 percent of those under 18 years of age are foreigners. In the largest city, Berlin, the percentage of foreigners under 18 years old is estimated to grow to 52 percent by the year 2015.

Writing in the semi-official weekly *Das Parlament* (issue 43-44, 1998), population specialist Prof. Herwig Birg of Bielefeld summed up:

Of all the major industrial countries, Germany has become the most important land of immigration. The number of immigrants per 100,000 of population is several times higher than in the "classic" immigration countries of the United States, Canada and Australia. The German population has a high birth rate deficit, while the birth rate of foreigners [in Germany] has a high surplus. Germany can no longer choose whether it wishes to be an immigration country or not, because the birth deficit will greatly increase due to the dramatically falling numbers of women in their child-bearing years. German society finds itself in a demographically determined existential change, that is, in transition, against its will, toward an immigration society that ignores, suppresses and tabooizes its future demographic problems at the cost of the young generations.

(Sources: R. Wuttke, "Deutsche schaufeln sich das Grab," *Nation u. Europa*, Coburg, January 1999, pp. 20-22, and, "Ausländer unter uns," p. 27; *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, Dec. 1996, citing: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 20, 1996; *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, April 18, 1996; *Südwest Presse*, June 14, 1996; *Nation u. Europa*, Coburg, March 1997, p. 36 [criminality figures].)

"From such a defeat [May 1945], one does not recover any longer, as peoples formally recovered after great battles like Jena or Sedan. Such a defeat marks a turning point in the life of nations."

— Ernst Jünger, 1945

Five Years Imprisonment for Pedro Varela Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'

MARK WEBER

A Spanish court has sentenced Pedro Varela, a Barcelona book dealer, to five years imprisonment for "incitement to racial hatred" and for "denying or justifying genocide."

The sentence, handed down on November 16, 1998, is Spain's first conviction for "Holocaust denial." It is based on the country's 1995 anti-genocide and anti-discrimination law, which effectively creates an ambiguous new class of "criminal" books, and thereby threatens freedom of speech and expression for all Spaniards.

The case began on December 12, 1996, when police raided Varela's "Libreria Europa" bookstore in central Barcelona while his sister was working in the shop and her young daughter was playing in the back yard. The police seized some 20,000 books, along with numerous periodicals, posters, and audio and video cassettes. Varela was later arrested at his family home.

Among the prominent individuals who publicly condemned the police raid was Fernando Savater, professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. Writing in the major Madrid daily *El País*, he commented critically on the spate of European laws that threaten free speech, and voiced concern that some regard the bookstore's closure as a "victory for progress."

During the trial, which took place in Barcelona criminal court on October 16 and 17, 1998, the public prosecutor cited 30 books sold in Varela's bookstore that praise Third Reich Germany and approve its policies, or which present revisionist arguments on the Holocaust issue. Joining with the prosecution in the case was the Jewish community organization of Barcelona (ATID) and a group called "SOS Racism."

Varela's two attorneys called on the tribunal to acquit the defendant, and to declare that the law under which he had been charged is unconstitutional.

The case took nearly two years to come to trial in part because many of the seized books were in English, German and French, and the prosecution insisted on painstakingly translating many of them into Spanish to determine precisely what portions of which books violated the law.

Varela emphatically rejected the charges against him. "I have never provoked racial hatred," he told



Pedro Varela

the court. As a historian, he explained, he has "the moral duty to tell the truth," just as a physician has the duty to heal. "As a historian, I must keep researching the past, and when doubt is not permitted, it arises inevitably." He also declared:

In my opinion it is necessary to review history because it is an open issue and everything is subject to revision ... Every historian must be skeptical of everything and must also review what has been said thus far. Revisionists question the scope and degree of the alleged persecutions of National Socialist Germany.

Not just history, Varela said, but even the meanings of words such as "fascist" and "revisionist" are polemically manipulated by the media and by social-political interests unconcerned with justice or truth. The term "racist," he went on, has virtually come to mean "murderer."

Regarding the items sold in his store, Varela

explained that he does not and cannot know the contents of every book he sells; even if that were possible, he said, it's not the duty of a book dealer. He pointed out that he also sold Karl Marx' *Capital* and the Anne Frank *Diary*, along with 232 titles not related to the Second World War and thus irrelevant to this case.

Varela acknowledged authorship of a leaflet about Anne Frank that stated, accurately, that the famous Jewish teenager had died of typhus, and that her body was not used to manufacture soap. This is no reason not to regret her death, he added.

In his concluding statement to the court, Varela said:

It is my turn to be the scapegoat of a "social alarm" [to use a phrase of the prosecutor] created on purpose ... I fight, condemn and attack any form of "genocide." I am not guilty of genocide, and have never killed anyone. I have never called for genocide against anyone, or for mass murder of any kind of minority.

On November 16, 1998, the court declared Varela guilty of inciting racial hatred and of denying or justifying genocide, and sentenced him to five years imprisonment and a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about \$5,000). The 20,000 books seized by the police were ordered to be burned (!), even though the court found that only 30 titles, out of some 200 altogether, violated the law.

The case received extensive nationwide media coverage, provoking commentary both sympathetic and hostile to the defendant. A "Comite por la Libertad de Expresion" actively defended Varela. Many writers and journalists expressed disagreement with the verdict, concerned that it threatens freedom of speech. In letters to newspapers and over the radio, many private citizens also protested the court's ruling.

In October a coalition of Jewish, gypsy, leftist and homosexual groups staged a public demonstration against Varela, carrying cardboard coffins memorializing Holocaust victims. Predictably, the usual professional anti-racists, Marxists, and other self-proclaimed defenders of democracy expressed satisfaction with the court's verdict and sentence.

On December 10, 1998, Varela's attorneys appealed the court's sentence and verdict. He is free pending the ruling of the appeals court.

Outspoken, Articulate and Undaunted

Pedro Varela, 41 years old, is quick-witted, dedicated and articulate. He is also a unapologetic admirer of Hitler and National Socialism who has paid a price for his heretical views.

While attending university, he earned praise as

an outstanding student of history, completing a five-year course with high marks and in half the usual time. Also at the university, he endured physical attacks from leftists. For a time he headed the "Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe" (CEDADE), a group noted for its frank sympathy for Germany's Third Reich and its National Socialist ideology. In March 1991 Varela spoke (in German) at the "Leuchter Kongress" in Munich, an open-air revisionist meeting organized by Ernst Zündel.

When a major Spanish newspaper, *La Vanguardia*, once referred to him as a "terrorist," he brought a lawsuit against the Barcelona daily. Although the judge agreed that the paper had lied in making the claim, he held that Varela's demand for a retraction was "disproportionate."

In 1992 he was arrested in Austria on a charge of "reactivating" National Socialism because, during an earlier visit to the country, he had delivered a speech in which he praised Hitler. After being held nearly three months in prison, he was finally brought to trial in mid-December 1992 before a court in Steyr that, amazingly, acquitted him.

(Varela can be reached by mail at: Libreria Europa, Aptdo. de Correos 9169, Barcelona 08080, Spain, and by e-mail at: lib.europa@mx3.redesb.es.)

Spain's Ambiguous 'Anti-Genocide' Law

Until 1995 Spain was an oasis of freedom in a continent where several countries had curtailed freedom of expression in the name of fighting "hate" and "Holocaust denial."

This changed on May 11, 1995, when the Spanish parliament, approved a revision of the country's criminal code that made it a crime to justify genocide or to promote racial hatred. Duly signed into law by Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and King Juan Carlos, it begins with a preamble that declares:

The proliferation in several European countries of incidents of racist and anti-Semitic violence, carried out under the flags and symbols of Nazi ideology, obliges the democratic states to take decisive action to fight against this ...

This statement is remarkable considering that Spain owes much of its stability and prosperity to the legacy of Francisco Franco, whose authoritarian regime ruled the country for more than 30 years after leading the nationalists to victory in a bloody civil war (1936-1939) with significant military aid from Third Reich Germany and fascist Italy. Ironically, the 1995 law was proposed not by the country's Socialist party, which had been in power for 13 years, but by the country's main conservative party, the *Partido Popular*, which had the backing of sup-

porters of the Franco regime.

Specifically, Spain's awkwardly worded "anti-genocide" law makes it a crime to express "ideas or doctrines that promote the crime [of genocide], [or] exalt its author," or to "deny, trivialize, or justify" genocidal actions. It goes on to make it a crime to "attempt to rehabilitate or establish a regime or institution that aids practices that generate the crime of genocide."

In the section aimed at "racial incitement," the law declares:

Whoever provokes or incites, directly or by defense or justification (*mediante la apología*), through communication media or by any other means of publicity, discrimination against persons or groups on the basis of their racial, ethnic or national origin, or their ideology, religion or beliefs, will be punished with a minor or medium prison sentence and a fine of 100,000 to 1,000,000 pesetas.

Spaniards have expressed concern about the law's slippery imprecision. One book seller, who now wonders if he should act as a censor, said:

Under the new law, the role of the book dealer is unclear. Which books are forbidden? What should I do when my distributor ships me copies of *Mein Kampf*? Should I denounce him to the authorities, tell him to keep the books, or should I sell them?

At the least, the law is ambiguous because it is difficult to define "genocide" with exactitude. Is it "genocide" if five percent of a group is killed, or must it be 50 or 70 percent?

Pointing up the politically motivated nature of the law is the fact that it has been invoked only against those who (allegedly) "deny, trivialize, or justify" the Second World War treatment of Europe's Jews. It is not invoked against those who "deny, trivialize, or justify" genocidal acts of any other regime.

Arguably the law could be invoked against those who "deny, trivialize, or justify" the numerous acts of genocide committed by the ancient Hebrews against the native peoples of Palestine, as recorded, for example, in the Old Testament books of Joshua and Deuteronomy. The law's "racial incitement" section could be invoked against those who defend Israel or justify its policies, which have institutionally discriminated against non-Jews in Israel/Palestine for more than 30 years.

A Well-Organized Campaign

Laws against "hate" and "Holocaust denial," such as the one in Spain under which Varela was

convicted, are hardly spontaneous expressions of righteous indignation. They are, instead, the result of a well-organized, protracted and self-serving Jewish-Zionist campaign. Seventeen years ago, the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced that it was launching a worldwide campaign to persuade and pressure governments to outlaw "Holocaust denial" (*Jewish Chronicle* [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist "thought crime" laws that were subsequently introduced in several European countries reflect the success of this initiative.

The organized nature of this campaign was recently underscored by the demand of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists in June 1998 for new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism. (See: "Jewish Group Demands More Anti-revisionist Laws," July-August 1998 *Journal*, p. 22)

Remember the Institute in Your Will

If you believe in the Institute for Historical Review and its fight for freedom and truth in history, please remember the IHR in your will or designate the IHR as a beneficiary of your life insurance policy. It can make all the difference.

If you have already mentioned the Institute in your will or life insurance policy, or if you would like further information, please let us know.

Director, IHR
P.O. Box 2739
Newport Beach, CA 92659
USA

War: Threat to Liberty

"Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxers; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people ... [There is also] an inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and ... degeneracy of manners and of morals ... No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare."

— James Madison

Israel is Developing 'Ethnic Bomb' for Growing Biological Weapons Arsenal

Israel is working on an "ethnically targeted" biological weapon that would kill or harm Arabs but not Jews, according to Israeli military and western intelligence sources cited in a front-page report in the London *Sunday Times*, November 15, 1998 ("Israel Planning 'Ethnic' Bomb as Saddam Caves In," by Uzi Mahnaimi and Marie Colvin).

In developing this "ethno-bomb," the British paper went on, Israeli scientists are trying to exploit medical advances by identifying distinctive genes carried by some Arabs, and then create a genetically modified bacterium or virus. The goal is to use the ability of viruses and certain bacteria to alter the DNA inside the host's living cells. The scientists are trying to engineer deadly microorganisms that attack only those bearing the distinctive genes.

The secret Israel program is based at the Institute for Biological Research in Nes Tsiona, a small town southeast of Tel Aviv, the main research facility for Israel's clandestine arsenal of chemical and biological weapons.

A scientist there said the task is very complicated because both Arabs and Jews are of Semitic origin. But he added: "They have, however, succeeded in pinpointing a particular characteristic in the genetic profile of certain Arab communities, particularly the Iraqi people." Diseases could be spread by spraying organisms into the air or putting them in water supplies.

Some experts have commented that while an ethnically targeted weapon is theoretically feasible, the practical aspects of creating one are enormous. All the same, a confidential Pentagon report warned last year that biological agents could be genetically engineered to produce new lethal weapons.

US Defense Secretary William Cohen revealed that he had received reports of countries working to create "certain types of pathogens that would be ethnic-specific." A senior western intelligence source confirmed that Israel is one of the countries Cohen had in mind, the *Sunday Times* report added.

Reliable Record

The *Sunday Times* report is all the more credible given the prestigious paper's past record of reliable reporting. In a detailed front-page report published on June 19, 1977, the *Sunday Times* first revealed to the world that Israeli authorities had been torturing Palestinian prisoners, that this torture was "widespread and systematic," and that it "appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy." At the time Israeli officials and Jewish-Zionist lead-

ers in the United States protested the *Sunday Times* revelations, and denied the charge. Later, though, Israeli torture of prisoners was independently verified by Amnesty International, and others.

Another recent *Sunday Times* article revealed that Israeli jets have been equipped to carry chemical and biological weapons. "There is hardly a single known or unknown form of chemical or biological weapons ... which is not manufactured at the [Nes Tsiona] Institute," a biologist who is a former Israeli intelligence official told the newspaper. And the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Achronot*, citing a foreign report, has told readers that hundreds of bottles of deadly anthrax toxin are stored at the Institute.

The "ethnic bomb" claims have been given further credence in *Foreign Report*, an authoritative Jane's publication that closely monitors security and military matters. It cites unnamed South African sources as saying that Israeli scientists, in trying to develop an "ethnic bullet" against Arabs, have made use of similar biological studies conducted by South African scientists during the Apartheid era (and later revealed in testimony before that country's "Truth and Reconciliation Commission"). *Foreign Report* also says that Israelis have gained insights into the Arab genetic make-up by conducting research on "Jews of Arab origin, especially Iraqis."

The British Medical Association has become so concerned about the lethal potential of genetically-based biological weapons that it has opened an investigation. Dr. Vivienne Nathanson, who organized the research, said: "With an ethnically targeted weapon, you could even hit groups within a population. The history of warfare, in which many conflicts have an ethnic factor, shows how dangerous this could be."

A spokesman for Britain's biological defense establishment confirms that such weapons are theoretically possible. "We have reached a point now where there is an obvious need for an international convention to control biological weapons," he said.

The Anti-Defamation League lost no time denouncing the *Sunday Times* "ethnic bomb" report. Abraham Foxman, national director of the influential Jewish-Zionist organization, called it "irresponsible and dangerous." The ADL official went on: "This sensational story is reminiscent of the age-old anti-Semitic blood libel myth of Jews deviously targeting non-Jews with poison." Question: How does Foxman know that this report is not true? Do high-

level Israeli officials routinely inform the ADL of the Zionist government's top-secret military programs?

A senior Israeli government official similarly rejected the *Sunday Times* report, saying "this is the kind of story that does not deserve denial." Such Israeli declarations are virtually worthless, however, considering that the Zionist state refuses officially to acknowledge that it has nuclear weapons, a fact that even authoritative American sources have confirmed.

'Human Guinea Pigs'

Victor Ostrovsky, a former case officer of Israel's Mossad intelligence agency, recalled in his book *The Other Side of Deception* how he first learned of the Zionist state's secret weapons center:

It was Uri who enlightened me regarding the Nes Zionna [Tsional] facility. It was, he said, an ABC warfare laboratory — ABC standing for atomic, biological and chemical. It was where our top epidemiological scientists were developing various doomsday machines. Because we were so vulnerable and would not have a second chance should there be an all-out war in which this type of weapon would be needed, there was no room for error. The [captured] Palestinian infiltrators came in handy in this regard. As human guinea pigs, they could make sure the weapons the scientists were developing worked properly and could verify how fast they worked and make them even more efficient.

'Sanctimonious and Hypocritical'

As most of the world recognizes, United States policy toward countries that develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons is sanctimonious and brazenly hypocritical.

Recently, for example, the US government sharply condemned India and Pakistan for testing nuclear weapons. Of course, the only country ever to have actually *used* nuclear weapons is the United States. In August 1945, American forces instantly killed tens of thousands of Japanese civilians with atomic bombs, first in Hiroshima and then in Nagasaki — even though America's most competent military leaders held that there was no military need to use the horrific weapon. (See: "Was Hiroshima Necessary," in the May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 4-12).

To prevent the government of Iraq from developing "weapons of mass destruction" (to use the currently fashionable phrase), the United States regularly bombs the hapless Arab country, and enforces an economic embargo that (according to authoritative estimates) has already claimed the

lives of more than 200,000 Iraqi children.

For decades, though, America's political and intellectual leaders — reflecting their obsequious subservience to Jewish-Zionist interests — condone Israel's growing arsenal of sophisticated nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

— M.W.

'Blameless Victims?'

"... Nowhere is the question asked: to what extent are Jews themselves responsible for the hostility displayed towards them? Since the holocaust, Jewish leaderships the world over have proclaimed the view that as the visible objects of persecution, the Jews are blameless victims. It was not always thus.

"One of the earliest scholarly examinations by a Jew of the causes of Jewish persecution, written by Solomon ibn Verga in the early 16th century, drew attention (in the context of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain [1492]) to the inevitable consequences of patterns of behaviour which inspired envy and reeked of ostentation.

"Nor have Jews always been particularly wise in their political decisions. The Chmielnicki massacres of 1648-56 were in large measure the result of an ill-fated alliance between the Jews of Poland and the Polish nobility, and of consequential Jewish complicity in that nobility's persecution of the Ukrainian peasantry...

"Part, at least, of the explanation of anti-Jewish prejudice in contemporary Eastern Europe is to be found in the popular image of the Jews as purveyors of communism and allies of Stalin; this image is of course distorted, but reflects a certain unpalatable truth."

— Geoffrey Alderman, professor of politics and contemporary history, University of London, in "Blameless Victims?", *The Times Higher Education Supplement* (London), Oct. 22, 1993.

Coming Battle

"America's battle is yet to fight; and we, sorrowful though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it. New Spiritual Pythons, plenty of them, enormous Megatherions, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight Future on America; and she will have her own agony, and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of."

— Thomas Carlyle

IHR Response Rejected

John Birch Society Magazine Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism and the IHR

Under the ambitious headline "Lessons From the Holocaust," the biweekly magazine of the John Birch Society recently tackled the emotion-laden Holocaust issue. Promoted as a front-cover feature, the nine-page article by senior editor William Norman Grigg is critical of Holocaust revisionism and the Institute for Historical Review.

In response to Grigg's broadside, *The New American* published four readers' letters in the December 7 issue, including a sharply critical one by Michael A. Hoffman II, a former IHR staff member. His letter was not permitted to speak for itself, however, but appeared along with an editorial rebuttal that was lengthier than Hoffman's published letter.

IHR Director Mark Weber responded with a letter that *The New American* declined to publish, even in part. The full text of Weber's letter follows:

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659 USA
November 25, 1998

William Norman Grigg
The New American
P.O. Box 8040
Appleton, WI 54913

Dear Mr. Grigg,

We have received several requests to respond to your article, "Lessons From the Holocaust," in the November 9 issue of *The New American*, especially because you take specific aim at the Institute for Historical Review and its work.

First of all, I want to express appreciation to you and *The New American* for consistently stressing the scope of Communism's crimes, which regrettably are played down in our media and by our public leaders. At the same time, I must take issue with a number of points made in your article.

While it is certainly true, as you point out, that Third Reich Germany was an authoritarian state, it is misleading if not deceitful to give the impression that it was comparable to Stalinist Russia. Private property ownership, for example, was not only permitted in Hitler's Germany, it was greatly encouraged. Unlike in the Soviet Union, farms, homes and businesses in National Socialist Germany were privately owned and managed, and there were no restrictions on travel inside the country, by either Germans or foreigners.

Also, religious life, in spite of various restrictions, remained vibrant — indeed Church attendance was

Impeachment: The Total Package • Clinton's "Scorched Earth" Policy • They Dared to Defy Hitler



Lessons From the Holocaust



much greater during the Third Reich era than it is in Germany today. The official 25-point National Socialist Party program specifically endorsed "positive Christianity." And whereas the membership of Germany's ruling National Socialist Party was overwhelmingly Christian, the membership of Soviet Russia's ruling Communist Party was entirely atheist.

Moreover, to contend that Hitler's hostility to Communism was "purely tactical" is an grotesque distortion of the historical record. Throughout his life, Hitler remained fervently anti-Communist. And this was not mere sentiment. After taking power in 1933, he lost no time in smashing the German Communist Party — the largest in the world at the time outside of Russia. While it is quite true, as you point out, that Third Reich Germany and the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact in August 1939, this was not a military alliance.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler launched his "Barbarossa" attack against the Soviet Union, the greatest military assault in history. His plan to quickly destroy Soviet Communism failed because he had greatly underestimated Stalin's military might. Although German troops reached the gates of Moscow, the Red Army ultimately prevailed. As Stalin's forces planted the Red Flag atop the Reichstag in Berlin in the spring

of 1945, Hitler took his life in a nearby command center.

Revisionist scholars do not "deny" the Holocaust. They acknowledge that many hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed and otherwise perished during the Second World War as direct and indirect result of the brutally anti-Jewish policies of Germany and its allies.

At the same time, revisionists point out that numerous specific extermination claims have been quietly abandoned over the years as untrue. For instance, at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, Allied prosecutors cited seemingly substantial evidence to "prove" that prisoners had been gassed at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. But already in August 1960 an official of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich acknowledged: "Neither in Dachau, nor in Bergen-Belsen, nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other inmates gassed." Today historians now widely acknowledge that no one was ever gassed in any camp in Germany proper.

Much of the now discredited Holocaust "evidence" presented at Nuremberg is of Soviet Communist origin, including "proof" that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz and another one and a half million at Majdanek. (Today no reputable historian accepts these fantastic figures.)

As evidence of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, you cite a postwar "confession" of SS Captain Josef Kramer, who served as commandant of Auschwitz-Birkenau from mid-May 1944 until the end of November 1944 — that is, during the height of the supposed extermination period there. He had already served at other concentration camps, and he finished the war in command of the Belsen camp. He was arrested there by the British and, after a military trial, was hanged in December 1945.

During his trial, Kramer provided a valuable detailed statement about his wartime career, including his role as commandant of Birkenau and Belsen. He frankly acknowledged that as many as 500 Birkenau inmates died weekly during the period when he was in charge, but stressed that these deaths were due to illness and old age, and were not the result of any policy. In fact, every effort was made to keep sick inmates alive, he said, and reported that the camp's physicians normally worked ten or eleven hours daily. Some 25 or 30 barracks buildings were set aside as hospital or recuperation quarters.

Kramer forthrightly responded to the persistent charges of extermination and gassings:

I have heard of the allegations of former prisoners in Auschwitz referring to a gas chamber there, the mass executions and whippings, the cruelty of the guards employed, and that all that took place either in my presence or with my knowledge. All I can say to all this is that it is untrue from begin-

ning to end.

Kramer later retreated from this unambiguous stand, perhaps in the hope that a "confession" might save his life. In a "supplementary" statement, he mentioned the existence of a *single* gas chamber in Birkenau, but added that it was not under his command.

In his 1949 study, *Victor's Justice*, historian Montgomery Belgion reported that Kramer and other "Belsen" trial defendants were tortured, sometimes to the point that they begged to be put to death.

In January 1995 the prestigious French weekly magazine *L'Express* acknowledged that the "gas chamber" in the Auschwitz main camp, which has been shown for decades to tourists in its "original" state, is actually a postwar reconstruction (built under Communist auspices), and that "everything is false" about it.

Several forensic examinations of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz — probably the most notorious wartime concentration camp — have established that these facilities could not possibly have been used to kill people as alleged, and in fact were never used to kill people as claimed.

To prove the severity of German measures against Jews, you quote from a directive on the "Handling of the Jewish Question." Contrary to the impression you give, though, this directive is not from the 1930s, but from 1941, and applies not to Jews in Germany, but rather (as the text itself makes clear) to Jews in the newly occupied Soviet territories.

This official "Guidelines for the Handling of the Jewish Question" (Nuremberg document 212-PS) lays out German policy toward the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. An interesting feature of this secret, internal document is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

Although the measures ordered in this Security Police directive are certainly cruel and harsh, it makes no mention of killing or extermination, but instead stresses the importance of putting Jews to work. It specifically refers to the "peaceful solution of the Jewish question" and mentions "the creation of at least temporary reception possibilities for Jews from the [German] Reich" in the newly-acquired Soviet territories.

The only material issued or distributed by the IHR that you specifically cite is a flyer, "66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust." This decades-old, single sheet leaflet is inherently superficial, and anyway is in need of revision and updating. It is not at all indicative of the tremendous scope and depth of historical scholarship published by the IHR since its founding in 1978 in numerous books and in dozens of issues of the Institute's *Journal of Historical Review*.

Misleading is a charitable way to characterize your description of the IHR's drawn out legal dispute with Auschwitz survivor Mel Mermelstein. What your readers were not told is that his campaign against the IHR came to a dramatic end on September 19, 1991, when his \$11 million lawsuit against the IHR was dismissed in Los Angeles Superior Court. Judge Steven Lachs granted the IHR's motion for dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint, and soon afterwards Mermelstein himself dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints. His appeal of the ruling was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal. Furthermore, a careful look at Mermelstein's statements and writings over the years shows, contrary to his highly favorable media image, that he is a prevaricator and demonstrable fraud.

Revisionists are often accused of "rewriting history." But the routine way we talk about "the Holocaust" is itself a good example of "rewriting history." This term, as a reference to the World War II travails of European Jewry, was unknown in the decades following the end of the conflict, and did not come into widespread use until the late 1970s.

Just how drastically our perception of the past has been altered over the past 30-40 years has been acknowledged by Michael Berenbaum, Project Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. "The Holocaust," he has said, "was [once] regarded as a side story of the much larger story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story and the Holocaust as a foreground story." (Quoted in *The Washington Times*, Jan. 10, 1991.)

Along with much of the American media, many public officials have vigorously promoted the campaign that Jewish-American historian Alfred Lilienthal has aptly termed "Holocaustomania." Accordingly, the federal government and all 50 state governments now routinely observe the annual "Holocaust Remembrance Day."

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council — a taxpayer-funded federal government agency — operates an official US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, that commemorates (non-American) victims of a foreign regime. Non-Jewish victims just don't merit the same concern. There are no federal memorials or museums, or official annual observances, dedicated to the millions of victims of Soviet and Chinese Communism.

For many people, the Holocaust has become virtually a new civil religion, one that replaces traditional Judaism and Christianity as a moral guide. In his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*, Prof. Michael Goldberg, an eminent Rabbi, laments the rise of what he aptly calls a "Holocaust cult with its own tenets of faith, rites and shrines."

This "cult" is even used to justify and support the "new world order." This was made clear by Ian J.

Kagedan, an official of the Zionist organization B'nai B'rith Canada, in an essay entitled "Memory of Holocaust Central to New World Order" (*Toronto Star*, Nov. 26, 1991). "In the moral reconstruction of Eastern Europe," he wrote, "coming to terms with the Holocaust must figure prominently... The Holocaust stands as Western civilization's greatest failure... Achieving our quest of a 'new world order' depends on our learning the Holocaust's lessons."

Those who question the "Holocaust cult" are subject to smears, bigoted social ostracism and, sometimes, terror and legal persecution. As you point out, in some countries it is a crime to distribute dissident writings on the Holocaust. In 1978 a teacher in France, François Duprat, was even murdered because of his revisionist views. Our Institute has been repeatedly attacked by the Jewish Defense League, a group that the FBI has identified as a terrorist organization. The IHR office-warehouse was destroyed in an arson attack on July 4, 1984.

Since its founding in 1978, the IHR has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Contributors to our *Journal* have included respected scholars from around the world. We are proud of the backing we have earned from people of the most diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, including Jewish.

The generally acknowledged founder of scholarly Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, whom you inaccurately call a Trotskyite. Actually, this French educator and underground Resistance activist was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. Rassinier's courage and suffering were later recognized with France's highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities, and he was elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist party (SFIO).

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as you suggest, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as David Irving and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Much more by and about the IHR can be obtained by writing us at P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, or "on line" through our Internet web site: <http://www.ihr.org>

Sincerely,
Mark Weber, Director

Here We Go Again!

New Collins Book Takes Aim at Cant and Bigotry

Doug Collins — the first Canadian journalist to be hauled before a “Human Rights Tribunal” — is once again delighting fans and confounding enemies with the publication of *Here We Go Again!*, a collection of 100 of his *North Shore News* columns.

This is Collins at his best — adroitly taking aim at cant, bigotry, sophistry and double standards in prose that is unfailingly clear, witty and vigorous. This is a fun read.

Leading off with the notorious “Hollywood Propaganda” essay that brought him before a “Human Rights Tribunal,” this self-published anthology also includes “All Alone on the Rights Griddle,” “Massacred by the Media,” “Swastikas and Double Standards,” “Thought Police On Patrol,” “Pokenoses and Pressure Groups,” and “A Redneck to the Rescue.”

He stanchly defends the traditional British-heritage rights of free thought and free speech even for such bothersome Canadians as Paul Fromm, a school teacher who lost his job because of his views on immigration and multiculturalism, and J. Philippe Rushton, a professor who nearly lost his for concluding that racial differences are more than skin deep.

Collins can take special pride in his “Rambo Rough and Ready” column, apparently the first critical look published anywhere of the “memoir” of Australian Donald Watt, who recounted hair-raising experiences as a wartime prisoner at Auschwitz and other German camps. Having been a World War II prisoner of the Germans himself, Collins had special reason to be skeptical of Watt’s boasting. Although it initially received high praise in the British and Australian press, specialists later authoritatively exposed Watt’s memoir as a fraud.

Here We Go Again!, says Collins, is “an act of defiance against the censors. I think this is a valuable piece of journalistic history. The *North Shore News* and I are the first anywhere in North America to be hauled before a human rights tribunal over an expression of opinion. We are fighting a heresy law. The public should be able to see what it is all about. This book will do that.”

For 13 years — from 1984 until his retirement in September 1997 — Collins’ thrice-weekly column in the *North Shore News* of Vancouver, British Columbia, was one of paper’s most popular features. In more than 1,400 essays written in lively, straightforward prose, the British-born Collins laid out well-informed and common-sense views on the country’s most emotion-laden issues, including



Doug Collins looks up from the *North Shore News* issue that reports on his November 1997 victory in a closely-watched “hate speech” case involving a column about “Schindler’s List” he had written from the British Columbia paper. This photo is taken from the front cover of his new book, *Here We Go Again!*

immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege “rights.”

The column that got him into the hottest of hot water was a March 1994 essay, “Hollywood Propaganda,” that skewered Steven Spielberg’s much-hyped motion picture “Schindler’s List.” Collins referred to it as “Swindler’s List” and “hate literature in the form of films.” He also wrote that “the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood,” and dismissed the fabled “six million” Holocaust figure as “nonsense.” (Several of Collins’ provocative columns, including “Hollywood Propaganda,” have been reprinted in this *Journal*.)

The Canadian Jewish Congress responded with a formal complaint against Collins and the *North Shore News*, charging that the column violated British Columbia’s amended Human Rights Act. As this free speech case came before the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal, it attracted nationwide attention and commentary. In late 1997 the Tribunal decided the case by rejecting the CJC complaint, finding that Collins’ “Hollywood Propaganda” column “does not itself express hatred or contempt” in

violation of a provincial "anti-hate" law. (For more on this, see "Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, and "Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle," Jan.-Feb. 1998 *Journal*.)

A recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, Collins' career has included work as a reporter and commentator for several major Canadian daily papers and on television and radio. *Here We Go Again!* is his fourth book. His earlier works are *P.O.W.*, a chronicle of his Second World War experiences, *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada*, and *The Best and Worst of Doug Collins*, a 1987 collection of columns. Collins' presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*.

United States readers can order *Here We Go Again!* by check or money order, made out to Doug Collins, for US \$13.00, postpaid (or Can. \$18.95), directly from: Doug Collins, P.O. Box 91831, West Vancouver, B.C. V7V 4S1, Canada.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, www.ihr.org, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, *The Leuchter Report*, and Kulaszka's encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?* New material is added as time permits.

Key words can be located in any of the site's items using a built-in search capability.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe



through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multi-media Internet service.

In recent weeks the IHR web site has been receiving 800-900 "hits" or "visits" per day.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its "webmaster." Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is

<http://www.ihr.org>

E-mail messages can be sent to
ihr@ihr.org

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"My conclusions about the late [First World] war remain as follows: (a) that the American pretense of neutrality down to 1917 was dishonest and dishonorable, (b) that the interests of the United States were actually on the side of Germany, and against both England and France, (c) that the propagation of the notion to the contrary was a very deft and amusing piece of swindling ... Every day I meet some man who was hot for the bogus Wilsonian idealism in 1916 and 1917, and is now disillusioned and full of bile. Such men I do not respect."

— H. L. Mencken, Baltimore *Evening Sun*,
June 12, 1922.

Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude'

Akribeia, the Greek word for "exactitude," is also the name of an impressive scholarly French-language revisionist journal. Skilfully edited by Jean Plantin, the twice-yearly periodical of some 235-240 pages explores "history, rumors and legends." Each book-length issue proclaims (quoting French scholar and publisher Pierre Guillaume) that history writing must be revisionist, or it is not real historiography.

The premiere issue of October 1997 includes a lengthy essay by French writer Albert Dauzat on false rumors and legends of the First World War, and a detailed essay by Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno on Germany's "Final Solution" as seen by neutral and Allied countries in 1941-1942.

The second, March 1998 issue features two lengthy essays by Spanish scholar Enrique Aynat, "Considerations on the deportations of Jews from France and Belgium to eastern Europe in 1942," and "The reports of the Polish resistance on the Auschwitz gas chambers, 1941-1944." This issue also contains Theodore O'Keefe's essay on former Auschwitz inmate Mel Mermelstein, translated from the July-August 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*, and a detailed article by Mark Weber on the Stutthof concentration camp, translated from the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*. Also here is a 14-page "Revisionist Chronology" that summarizes noteworthy events for revisionism in the year 1997.

Almost the entirety of the third issue of October 1998 is devoted to an analysis by Enrique Aynat of the often-cited 1944 "Auschwitz Protocols."

A valuable and routine feature of the journal is a "Notes de lecture" section, 37 to 41 pages in length, in which dozens of recent books and periodicals, both revisionist and anti-revisionist, are carefully noted, reviewed and summarized.

Carrying on a tradition of solid revisionist scholarship in France, *Akribeia* fills a major gap left by the demise of *Annales d'histoire revisionniste* (1987-1990), *Revue d'histoire revisionniste* (1990-1992), and *Revue d'histoire non conformiste* (1993-1994).

"Éditions Akribeia" also publishes books, including a French translation of *Falsehood in Wartime*, Arthur Ponsonby's important study of First World War propaganda lies (with an introduction by Plantin), and a new edition of the 1950 preface by Albert Paraz to Paul Rassinier's *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (with a foreword by Robert Faurisson).

For further information, including subscription rates and prices for books and single journal issues, write to: *Akribeia*, 45/3 route de Vourles, 69230 Saint-Genis-Laval, France.

Double Standards

"The [1940] massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest may have been condemned at Nuremberg as a crime against humanity, yet the man who signed the order, NKVD official Petr Soprurenko, is living peacefully in Moscow as an old-age pensioner. So are Dmitri Kopylansky, Raul Wallenberg's MGB interrogator, and General Pavel Sudoplatov, Trotsky's murderer, to name just a few. Are we to forgive them all, without even a court hearing? Are we to accept what the world firmly rejected 45 years ago?

"This is what I call "morally appalling": the double standards we seem to accept so easily. Why, may I ask, is murdering in the name of National Socialism a crime against humanity while murdering in the name of International Socialism is not? Why did Rudolf Hess die in Spandau prison, whereas Boris Ponomarev can live out his last years in a comfortable Moscow apartment? Is there no limit to our hypocrisy? No sooner is some bloody monster like the former East Germany's Erich Honecker put on trial than many of the same people who applaud hunting down elderly Nazi war criminals are up in arms pleading in the name of humanity his old age and poor health. If those are our moral standards, why are we so shocked by the atrocities committed in Bosnia? What else did we expect from the former Communist leaders of the former Yugoslavia?"

— Vladimir Bukovsky, author, writing in *Commentary*, October 1993, p. 12.

Absurd

"The notion that a modern society must also be prepared to establish itself as a multicultural society, with as many cultural groups as possible, is one that I regard as mistaken. One cannot belatedly transform Germany, with its thousand-year-old history since Otto I, into a melting pot ... To turn Germany into a immigration country is absurd. That could lead to us being swamped."

— Helmut Schmidt, former German Chancellor, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Feb. 12, 1992. Quoted in *Nation u. Europa* (Coburg), Jan. 1999, p. 32.

Moving?

Please notify us of your new address at least six weeks in advance. Send address change to:

IHR, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA.

Letters

Dogged Determination

The article on Jürgen Graf before the Swiss court [in the July-August *Journal*], while excellent, was also frightening and sobering. *Et tu Helvetia?* Yet, it is people with intelligence and dogged determination, like him and you, who usually leave their marks upon history. Equally sobering was the [Sept.-Oct.] issue on Hollywood.

Good to hear about the recent "especially generous" support from friends of the IHR. Prodigal son syndrome? Let it continue! I'm doing what I can. A check [\$100] is enclosed.

M. S.

Ottawa, Canada

Smashing Myths

Your efforts in the great struggle for truth in history are greatly appreciated! Keep fighting. Keep smashing the myths and icons of the enemy.

J. V.

Harrisville, Penn.

Vital Scholarship

Thanks, as ever, for the riveting and provocative articles in the March-April 1998 issue. Mark Weber's article on the perverse applications of France's Fabius-Gayssot law was quite informative and cautionary, especially because certain special interest groups seek similar statutes against free speech in this country as well. This is all the more troubling in light of Richard Curtiss' piece about the disproportionate role of Zionist policy makers in the Clinton administration.

Persist in your vital scholarship.

C. H.

Newark, Del.

Liberty and Historical Inquiry

While I enjoyed the articles in

the Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal* on Hollywood's distortions, I have a word of caution. Please stick to media distortions of history, and avoid the socially conservative critique that is typical of the "religious right." Such "religious right" figures as Cal Thomas and Chuck Colson are hostile to revisionism, and endorse censorship.

As a libertarian and a revisionist, I don't want anyone telling me what to think on any issue! Liberty and honest historical inquiry go hand in hand. Keep up the good work.

M. R.

West Milford, New Jersey

Police State Canada

I recently received the enclosed notice ["Notice of Detention/ Determination"] from the Canadian post office. From this you can see the type of police state that Canada has become, and what particular group is deciding just what information we are allowed to read.

K. E.

Toronto, Ont.

Still They Come

"Holocaust deniers" are persecuted like the early Christians. They are ridiculed, ostracized, fined and jailed. They are tormented, slandered with impunity, and financially ruined. Their families are wrecked. They are bombed, burned, and physically assaulted, even on courthouse steps. They are smeared as lunatics, hate-mongers, neo-Nazis and, most dreadful of all, anti-Semites.

They are offered up to appease the unappeasable. They are denied the elementary justice that is normally accorded the lowliest. Kangaroo courts sneer at their rights.

But never are they *answered*.

They are not permitted to present their case to the larger public. Why not? What's being concealed?

Yet still they come. Still they pursue their cause as did those ancient Christians.

Here in Canada, the absurdly named "Human Rights Commission" declares that "truth is no defense." In our country, where the duped and ignorant masses are driven by half-hidden herders, the fair lady of Justice is nothing more than a politically correct whore.

All this points up the sickness of Western society today, and of the dark age we are entering.

W. B.

Surrey, B.C.

Canada

Against Powerful Forces

As a *Journal* subscriber since 1997, I really appreciate your efforts to present the truth. As you are well aware, the forces against revisionism — who also control the government and the major media — are very powerful. As a result, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information about critical issues that differs from the "accepted" viewpoint. This is really a free country only if you express the accepted views on the major issues.

Unfortunately, the majority of people don't seem to really care about the truth. That's why your publication is so important.

R. S.

Temperance, Minn.

Second Dark Age

In 1600 Christians killed Giordano Bruno for questioning Holy Writ. In 1995 Jews killed Marco Polo for questioning the Holocaust. Wake up, America. It's time to kill the second Dark Age.

J. M.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

A Letter from Robert Graham

To my astonishment, I read the articles about Robert A. Graham, S.J., in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, with the facsimile copies of his letters to Arthur Butz and Mark Weber.

This is of special interest to me because some years ago, and for the same reasons as Butz and Weber, I likewise corresponded for a time with Graham, who was, until his recent death, probably the world's foremost authority on the role of the Vatican during the Second World War.

Here is the complete text of a letter he wrote to me in early 1992, which speaks volumes:

La Civiltà Cattolica

[Rome, Italy]

January 20, 1992

Dear Mr. [name withheld],

The question why the annihilation of so many Jews went unknown even to those who should have known, has long puzzled me. Even the Jews did not know what was happening to their own people, although they had first-rate chances to know. I was a regular reader of the NY Times in those years and the word Auschwitz got no play. And the specialists preparing for the Nuremberg trials in 1945, with their privileged access to intelligence information and consisting of a fair number of Jews, were incredibly not aware of Auschwitz. This is evident in their initial indictment, after the war's end. And the introductory speech of Justice Jackson.

It was an "atrocity story" and the Allied propagandists were resolved not to indulge in a self-defeating campaign of accusing the Nazis of gassing 6 million Jews. Who could have believed that, at the time? Or 2 million, or one, if you wish.

Sincerely,

[signed] Robert Graham

P.S. I see you are a Silesian. I enclose a piece I wrote 44 years ago, which may interest you.

[name withheld]

British Columbia
Canada

Full of Truth

I just wanted to tell you how impressed I am with your web site. I am a Palestinian from Gaza who now lives in the United States. Your web site is full of the truth about Israel and militant Zionism. I am really thankful for honest and loyal people like you.

Keep up the good work!

M. Q.
(by Internet)

Deep Thanks

Just today I first heard about the IHR, when I visited your Internet web site. What you folks are doing is truly a great thing. I am sure that your work comes with its share of trouble, and couldn't even imagine being in your shoes.

It will be a great day when Americans of German descent can openly say "I am a German-American" without people immediately thinking of the "Holocaust." I deeply thank you. I'll support your efforts in any way I can.

S. D.
(by Internet)

Hate Mail

Your kind of "person" has no place in humanity. The fact that you choose to live in your world of hate and paranoia is obviously your choice, but trying to publicize your vile, hideous, arrogantly venomous thoughts is beyond sane reasoning.

Long live the people of Israel!

An outraged Jew
Portland, Oreg.

Intellectual Shock Troops

With each passing year, the Holocaust campaign sinks its claws ever more deeply into our country's schools, especially here in New York City, where Holocaust "education" courses are *de rigueur*.

For example, the library at a nearby high school boasts a collection of several hundred Holocaust titles, funded by a special grant. It even has a "Holocaust tree," planted by concerned students and faculty. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, along with Congressmen Ackerman and Schumer, participated in the planting ceremony.

Enclosed is a copy of a Forest Hills HS departmental memo I obtained recently that urges participation in "The Sugihara 'Do the Right Thing' Essay Prize." The Assistant Principal urges "all

teachers of social studies" to encourage students to take part.

The Prize is named for Chiune Sugihara, a Japanese Consul in Lithuania who issued transit visas to Japan for Jews during the summer of 1940. Although he is supposed to have issued "over two thousand of those life-saving visas, thereby saving over 6,000 lives," Lithuania was an independent country at the time, and had no policy to eliminate its Jews. Anyway, — and as even Holocaust historians concede — in 1940 there was no German program to exterminate Jews (or anyone else).

Not mentioned, of course, are the thousands of (non-Jewish) Lithuanians who were deported or killed following the brutal Soviet takeover of the country in August 1940.

This competition is organized by the New York City Board of Education, and sponsored by something called the Holocaust Oral History Project in New York City. The first prize winner receives \$1,500, with lesser amounts for runners up.

All this points up just why *The Journal of Historical Review* is so absolutely necessary. You are the intellectual shock troops in the war for historical accuracy.

J. T.
New York City

Important Stuff

I was pleasantly surprised to find that you are not only "on line," but quite well along with your own web site. Keep up the good work. Unlike a lot of stuff on the Internet, it's important!

P. G.
(by Internet)

A Neglected Truth

I "discovered" Oswald Spengler and his significance during my undergraduate years. Later, as a teacher, I used a good essay on Spengler as a German text in my second-year German classes. So, I read the items about him [in the March-April 1998 *Journal*] with special interest.

Spengler was undoubtedly a profound and insightful thinker, but Prof. Oliver grasps his greatest weakness in the sentence: "For all practical purposes, Spengler ignores hereditary and racial differences." Whatever the mistakes made by Germany's Third Reich leaders — perhaps the worst was Hitler's December 1941 declaration of war against the United States, against the advice of Ribbentrop — they did recognize a significant truth: civilization has a racial and genetic base.

For half a century this idea has been in disfavor, largely because the powers-that-be in the United States are determined to denigrate every idea that is even remotely associated with German National Socialism. Thus, one of the most important reasons for the decline in power and fortune of European-Americans has been our failure to recognize the validity of this basic element of the National Socialist worldview.

The defeat of Germany in 1945, and the ceaseless denigration since then of *every* aspect of the Third Reich, has greatly contributed to our own decline. If the trend continues, the new century will witness the sinking of the United States into conditions similar to those in backward Third World countries. Revisionism can play a role, perhaps even a decisive one, in preventing such a catastrophe.

Charles E. Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

More Variety Wanted

A *Journal* article about David Irving was particularly interesting because several years ago my wife and I attended a lecture by him here in Portland. In his conclusion, he predicted that the Holocaust legend will explode within the next six months, and that Israel will be economically out of business within a decade.

Crews from several local television stations were outside the auditorium to cover a demonstration by quite few hecklers and other would-be disrupters. Actu-

ally, I think the protest helped more than harmed. As a result of the publicity, many more people in this area became aware that there is another side to the Holocaust issue.

Journal articles are interesting and informative, but I'd welcome a little more variety, including articles about such major historical conflicts as the Civil War, the First World War, and the French Revolution.

I enjoy reading about Thomas Jefferson and the other founders of our country. Sadly, few school children today know about George Washington, Paul Revere or Lewis and Clark. Few people are willing to counter the many slanderous attacks against such great men. Instead, it seems that many of our popular "heroes" these days are drug addicts or individuals like "Magic" Johnson.

R. R.
Portland, Oreg.

Keep it Up

In the end, truth must prevail! Keep up your very good work!

S. A. B.
Oslo, Norway

Changed Views

Until recently I was very pro-Israel, and had great respect for the B'nai B'rith and the Anti-Defamation League. This changed during a recent visit to Israel, where I was appalled to witness the inequities heaped on the Arabs by the Israelis.

I only recently came across your web site on the Internet. Reading your material, I am impressed with your lack of any apparent agenda, save the truth itself, and your willingness to tackle the most controversial issues.

D. Brown
[by Internet]

Suvorov is Wrong

Russian historian Viktor Suvorov is wrong in claiming that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany in 1941. [Three of Suvorov's books on the subject

have been reviewed in the *Journal*: *Icebreaker* and "M Day" in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 issue, and "The Last Republic" in the July-August 1998 issue.] *Icebreaker* contains no credible evidence that Hitler's June 1941 "Operation Barbarossa" attack was meant to preempt a Soviet attack. There is a mountain of evidence that Stalin was perfectly happy to be allied with Hitler, and was serious about the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. If Hitler had had the slightest suspicion of an impending Soviet assault, he would not have delayed "Barbarossa" for five crucial weeks to conquer Yugoslavia and Greece.

P. H.
Norwalk, Calif.

Fascinating Reading

The articles in your *Journal* are so fascinating that when a copy arrives, I am unable to stop reading until I've finished the entire issue.

From newspapers and television, one can easily get the impression that Third Reich Germany was the only country ever to expel the Jews. Actually, over the centuries, Jews have been expelled from every major country in Europe. I'd appreciate a *Journal* article summarizing these expulsions and the reasons for them.

L. T.
Hagersville, Ont.
Canada

Well Written

The account of the Jürgen Graf trial in Switzerland [in the July-August *Journal*] was extremely well written. We now have an account in English that will stand the test of time. Congratulations!

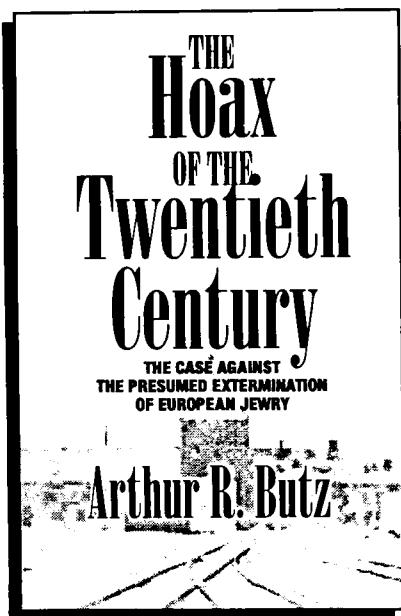
G. F.
Vienna, Austria

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million

may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by persons who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

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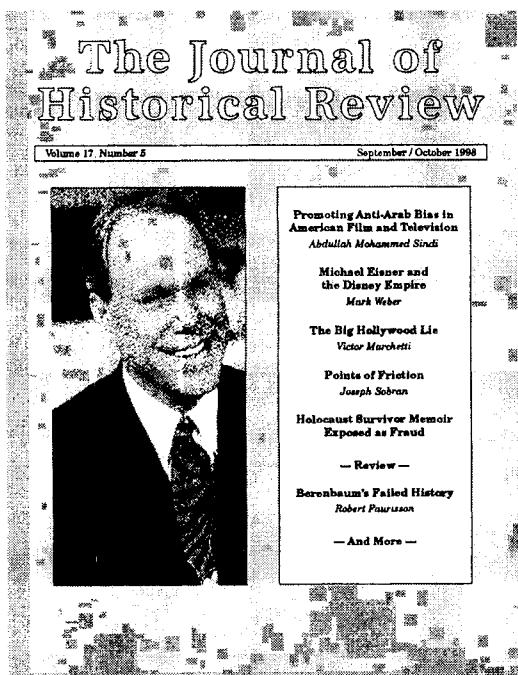
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The Journal of Historical Review index, 1980–1998

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To mark the publication of the first 17 volumes of the *Journal*, we have compiled a listing of all articles and reviews that have appeared in the *Journal* over the years, and are providing it here as a supplement to this issue. Also included are signed readers' letters, and some notable quotations.

The main listing is arranged chronologically by volume and number, with individual entries arranged alphabetically by author and title for each issue. Items with no author are arranged by title before the other listings. Each listing shows the page number where the item starts.

At the beginning of each entry is a reference number that is used with the topic and author indexes.

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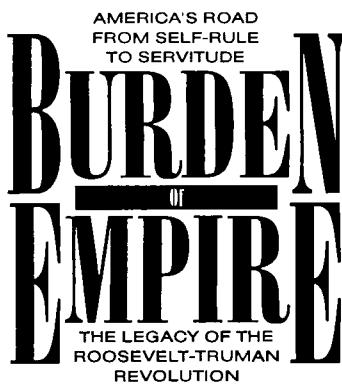
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